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ETHNIC FACTORS  
IN THE  
POPULATION OF BOSTON

BY

FREDERICK A. BUSHEE, PH.D.

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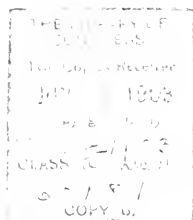
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## PREFACE

The study of racial phenomena not only has a lively interest for the general reader, but it has also a profound significance for the scientific student. Few of such investigations have, however, been pursued in the United States. Our experts in these fields have been tolled away into the study of the extinct or moribund races of the far South and West—studies interesting as bearing on the origin of institutions, but devoid of any practical value for the future of our American people. It is a source of gratification that interest is spreading in America in the study of populations, analyzed as they have been for years in Europe. Of recent years have been published the "Hull House papers," Hoffman's "American Negro," various articles on the colored population in the bulletins of the Department of Labor, various papers by Dr. Du Bois, the report of the New York Tenement House Commission of 1894, the excellent volumes by the residents of the South End House in Boston, "The city wilderness," and more recently "Americans in process." This monograph, in conjunction with the two last named works, affords perhaps the most complete picture of social and ethnic conditions in a great American city that is as yet available.

The similarity between this monograph and "Americans in process," perhaps the best of its kind, both of which have to do with the population of Boston, is evident. The two investigations are, however, rather parallel than overlapping. Certain differences between them are useful as illustrating the distinct methods of research which may be employed in similar cases else-

where. "Americans in process" is a careful study of the social conditions in a small homogeneous district; nationalities are considered only in so far as they are necessary to explain those conditions. This monograph, on the other hand, is intended to be a study of the comparative values of various ethnic groups over a somewhat larger area. In making the entire city the basis of study it can be made to depend almost wholly upon official statistics. The district used by the South End House was too small to obtain accurate statistical information concerning it; its authors had to rely for the most part upon personal investigation. The subjects treated also differ somewhat. In "Americans in process" there is nothing corresponding exactly to the chapters in this monograph on "Causes of immigration," "Vitality," "Poverty," and "Intermarriage"; on the other hand, this study does not attempt to discuss the religious situation.

An illustration may serve to show the importance of noting the race factors in social studies. Vital statistics usually are collected and tabulated by administrative divisions—by towns, cities, counties, and states; yet the student taking the trouble to compare the scanty data available on birth rates or mortality by races discovers that it is often the relative proportion of a given nationality and not the character, natural or social, of the district which explains the phenomena. The Jews, for example, as Dr. Billings discovered in the special investigation of mortality in 1890, have a vitality about twice as high as the average American city population.<sup>1</sup> This is especially notable in the infant mortality. The Italians and Irish, on the other hand, have an almost sui-

<sup>1</sup> See page 41, *infra*. Extended illustrations are given in "The races of Europe," p. 383.

cidal death rate among children. What significance, then, has a general death rate, even specified by ages, for cities by wards which does not take account of the relative proportions of these ethnic elements in the total population? It may become entirely misleading.

Two chapters of this investigation have a peculiarly deep meaning for the future of the American people; viz., those upon vitality and upon degeneration. The subject of the former has been emphasized by vigorous pronouncements of late by the President of the United States and by the President of Harvard University. Statisticians have long been cognizant of the tendencies, but each contribution which can throw light upon them is to be welcomed. The recent notable articles by Dr. Kuczynski<sup>1</sup> upon the fecundity of the native and foreign born population of Massachusetts are illustrations in point. And Dr. Bushee in this monograph in his discussion of the causes of the differences in vitality between ethnic stocks is surely dealing with one of the most important social questions of the day. The study of the phenomena of degeneration so carefully analyzed in this monograph is likewise of serious importance. Are differences in the proportions of criminals, defectives, and dependents as apparent between the several nationalities as are their contrasts in vitality? If not, then we may tend to the belief that these phenomena are due to a common cause to which all are alike exposed. To strip off the overlying and confusing facts of social environment, laying bare the phenomena of race alone, is to render a distinct service to future students along these lines.

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1901, and February, 1902.

The Economic Association can set itself no more important task than to promote such investigations, by making the results available through publication. Each college center should esteem it a privilege to have contributed to the common good by fostering research in its own locality. The present monograph contributes in no inconsiderable measure toward the advancement of this cause.

WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY.



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## CHAPTER I

### CAUSES OF IMMIGRATION

In the *Publications of the American Statistical Association* for June, 1899, I reviewed the growth of the population of Boston, with special attention to the growth by foreign immigration, and compared the population of Boston with the populations of other large American cities. In the present article I shall deal with the character of the chief ethnic factors in the population of Boston, and shall consider the value of these elements in the life of the city. In order to keep in mind the composition of the population, the following table is presented, showing the number of the leading nationalities by place of birth and by parent nativity according to the United States census of 1900.

CHIEF ETHNIC FACTORS OF BOSTON BY PLACE OF BIRTH  
AND PARENT NATIVITY (1900).

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Parent Nativity</i>
Massachusetts .....	285,242 .....	} 207,028
Other states .....	78,521 .....	
Ireland .....	70,147 .....	156,650
Canada (English) .....	47,374 .....	49,298
Russia .....	14,995 .....	22,254
Italy .....	13,728 .....	20,164
England .....	13,174 .....	15,670
Germany .....	10,523 .....	21,618
Sweden .....	5,541 .....	7,610
Scotland .....	4,473 .....	7,823
Poland .....	3,832 .....	6,108
Canada (French) .....	2,908 .....	3,542
Norway .....	1,145 .....	1,515
Austria .....	1,115 .....	1,544
France .....	1,003 .....	1,348

It must be borne in mind that the Irish have resided in Boston in considerable numbers longer than any other nationality. In 1846 about twenty-four thousand were in the city, and during the next ten years their numbers

increased to nearly sixty thousand. The rapid immigration of British Americans began at the close of the Civil War, while most of the Italians and Jews have come since 1880.

In the percentage of its total foreign population, Boston ranks fifteenth among the 161 principal cities, and second among the six largest cities of the United States. A comparison of the constituent elements of its population shows that Boston contains an unusually large number of British Americans, of Irish, and of Americans born outside of the city, while the number of Germans is small.

In order to arrive at a fair verdict concerning the nationalities, some consideration should be given to the conditions which obtain in the countries from which our immigrants come and to the causes which have led to emigration. Such consideration is especially important in the case of the Irish, the Italians, and the Jews, for with each of these nationalities emigration has been at times exceptionally large. From most of the other countries, however, emigration to the United States has been about normal, indicating approximately the natural response which laborers in one country make to better economic advantages in another.

The Irish who settled in Boston during the middle of the century were in a more hopeless condition before emigrating than any of the other nationalities. The use of the potato in Ireland as the staple article of food had reduced the standard of living to its extreme limit. In 1845, just on the eve of the famine, it was calculated that about one-half of the population, which at that time was over eight millions, was dependent upon the potato for subsistence.<sup>1</sup> The dwellings of the inhabi-

<sup>1</sup> Two centuries of Irish history, pt. 4, p. 394.

tants were of the crudest sort. In the census of 1841 the dwelling houses were divided into four classes, the fourth class comprising all mud cabins with only one room. The percentage of the population in the various counties inhabiting houses of this class varied from 24 per cent in Down to 66 per cent in Kerry. On the average it was found that 43 per cent of the population in the rural districts and over 36 per cent in the urban districts lived in huts of this kind.<sup>1</sup> The laborers inhabiting these huts were usually dependent upon the cultivation of a little plot of ground, in many places stony and barren.

The failure of the potato crop caused immediate want, followed by extreme wretchedness and starvation. Within five years nearly one million persons died and more than a million emigrated.<sup>2</sup> This emigration was not a normal movement of individuals who change their residence through their own exertions; it was a rescue by philanthropists of multitudes with no resources of their own to save themselves from starvation. Between 1848 and 1864 it is said that the Irish in America sent £13,000,000 to friends in Ireland to help them to emigrate.<sup>3</sup> In an article in the *Dublin University Magazine* the result of the famine is described in the following words: "The potato was gone, the food of an entire nation was thus in a single night cut off, although the effects of the blight upon the crop only became known when the peasantry began to dig in their winter store. Here at home, plague, pestilence, and famine, demoralization, and an emigration still deserving the name of an exodus, were the immediate results to the peasantry."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two centuries of Irish history, p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> Two centuries of Irish history, p. 426.

<sup>3</sup> Two centuries of Irish history, p. 426.

<sup>4</sup> The food of the Irish, *Dublin University Magazine*, 43, 135.

During the fifties there was considerable improvement in the material condition of Ireland, partly owing to the new land which had been reclaimed for cultivation and to the introduction of the cattle raising industry, and partly to the mere decrease in population. Nevertheless the conditions continued to be sufficiently bad to favor extensive emigration. In 1882 assistance was again given to enable a large number to emigrate. In describing the conditions of life in some of the Irish counties at this time J. H. Tuke, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, writes that in certain of the western counties people were living in a state of semi-starvation, many affording only one meal a day, and that families were found to be in arrears of three and a half years for rent and shop debts. Indeed, they could not have lived on their land if they had owned it. All were anxious to emigrate, but they had neither money nor clothes. One of the dwellings he visited Mr. Tuke describes as follows: "It was too low to stand upright in. A great boulder formed with the door one side. Sods formed the walls and sods and rafters the roof. One end was nine feet wide, the other seven and one-half feet wide, and nine feet long. A man and his wife, four sons and two daughters had been living in it for six months."<sup>1</sup>

Slavery to environment characterized the condition of the Irish in their own country. America was their land of emancipation, and they loved it from the beginning. Within recent years improved conditions in Ireland have changed the character of emigration; although there is still a large emigration to the United States, it is no longer of a pioneer character. Now

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Tuke, *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1882.

nearly all the immigrants come to join friends or relatives here.

Conditions in many respects resembling those in Ireland cause many thousands of Italians to emigrate to this country each year, though these conditions are not of so desperate a character. Our Italian immigrants are peasants from the country districts. At the present time at least four-fifths come from southern Italy, especially from the provinces of Abruzzi, Campania, the Basilicati, Calabria, and Sicily.<sup>1</sup> In northern Italy many of the farmers own their little plots of land and could make a moderate living according to the Italian standard if it were not for the heavy taxes. State expenditures are too large to make the raising of sufficient funds easy, and consequently many of the necessities of life are taxed.<sup>2</sup> The difficulty of paying these taxes makes the Italian discontented, and news of the success of a former neighbor who has tried his fortune in America decides him to rent his little farm or perhaps even to sell it that he may obtain passage to that country which is to him an ideal land. Agents of steamship companies have also assisted emigration from Italy to a remarkable extent. Commissioner Schulters found a system in operation in 1891 which included nearly four thousand emigration agents and sub-agents. In 1900 there were over seven thousand emigration agents in the country.<sup>3</sup>

In southern Italy the conditions of life are much worse than in northern Italy. The land is in the hands of a comparatively few persons who live on the unearned increment and form in too many cases a non-resident

<sup>1</sup> See Italian immigration, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 4, p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> Bolton King and Thomas Okey, *Italy to-day*, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Bolton King and Thomas Okey, *Italy to-day*, p. 320.

landlord class. According to Hon. Eugene Schuyler, writing in 1889, only 3.48 per cent of the inhabitants of the Neapolitan provinces were owners, as against 15 per cent in Piedmont.<sup>1</sup> These tenant farmers can afford to pay their hands scarcely enough to enable them to live—twenty cents a day and even less according to the report of Commissioner Schulters.<sup>2</sup> But even these poverty stricken laborers do not escape the oppressive burden of supporting the state. Edmund Self, writing in 1882, declared that official statistics show that the average Italian laborer earns \$140 a year and is taxed \$15.44<sup>3</sup>

Italians from this class have no money with which to emigrate, and have no means whereby they can raise it. It is the kindness of a friend or relative in this country which secures their passage. Commissioner Schulters goes so far as to say in his report that three-fourths of the emigrants' tickets are paid for on this side of the water.<sup>4</sup> To laborers of this class service in the army is not to be avoided. They look forward to it as a more comfortable life than that to which they have been accustomed. The idea of serving in the Italian army is such a matter of course to them that sometimes immigrants in this country return to their native land for that purpose alone. The expense of the army and navy is, however, so great that it acts as an indirect stimulus to emigration.

Although the conditions that prevail in Russia are as hard for the peasants as those in other European countries,

<sup>1</sup> Italian immigration, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 4, p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the commissioners of immigration upon the causes which incite immigration to the United States, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> Why they come, *North American Review*, 134, 347.

<sup>4</sup> In Chicago, out of 13,048 families investigated, 305 persons had assisted friends in Italy to emigrate. They had sent altogether \$19,384.75, or \$63.56 each. Bulletin of the department of labor, 13.



comparatively few Russians outside the Jewish population come to this country. And this emigration of the Jews is not the result of economic conditions alone, but is chiefly due to the burdensome restrictions imposed by the government, restrictions which have made life for many of the Jews in Russia almost unendurable. In making these regulations the Czar is merely carrying out the old policy of Russia, that of restricting a people who are at best most unwelcome, but who have unfortunately become more and more of a burden with every acquisition of territory. The abnormal Jewish emigration of the last few years is the result of an edict of the Czar in 1882, known as the "May laws," which caused the reinforcement of former regulations that had not been observed for a number of years. In former times the residence of the Jews had been restricted ordinarily to fifteen provinces in the western part of Russia, known as the "Jewish pale of settlement." In 1885 the laws were relaxed and Jewish artisans were permitted to settle in the interior of Russia, as there was a scarcity of this class of laborers. Accordingly a large number of Jews, following a variety of occupations, settled in different parts of Russia. In 1880 a decree gave the right of residence outside the pale to all who were then living outside. The May laws of 1882 marked the beginning of a new series of regulations which have been enforced more and more rigorously.

The regulations concerning the Jews are manifold,<sup>1</sup> but some of the most important require that all except certain favored classes shall settle not merely within the pale but within the towns of the pale. Only those Jews who belong to old agricultural colonies are allowed to remain in the country districts. Moreover they are pro-

<sup>1</sup> See Arnold White, *The modern Jew*, for these regulations.

hibited from "owning, holding on lease, or even managing land," and, in order to keep them from trading with the inhabitants of neighboring countries, they are not allowed to settle within thirty-three miles of the boundaries of the pale.<sup>1</sup> The Jews have been obliged to move from one district after another, either on account of the direct application of the laws or as the result of petty persecutions, until none of those who remain feel secure. In many cases the notice to move has been so short as to give them insufficient time for the disposal of their property, and those who could not raise the means of transportation have been conveyed to their destination *per etape*, that is, with prison gangs. In this way the pale of settlement soon became overcrowded with a multitude of poor Jews, many of whom had no means of livelihood, so that their very existence was threatened. Even the Jews came to realize that mere exchange of commodities could not furnish subsistence for all. Relief came through the Jewish philanthropist, Baron de Hirsh, who furnished the means whereby thousands of the poorest—and, on the whole, the least desirable—might reach this country. The unhappy plight of the Jews in Russia still continues, for the Czar seems determined to eradicate them as a dangerous pest.

The Russian side of the story is that the safety of the Russian peasantry and the preservation of the state to the Russians require the sacrifice of the Jews. The Russian peasants as well as the state are becoming bankrupt, and the property of the country is rapidly passing into the hands of the wealthy Jews. An article in the *Century Magazine* in 1882<sup>2</sup> gives a strong presentation

<sup>1</sup> See Arnold White, *The modern Jew*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Russians, Jews and gentiles, *Century Magazine*, April, 1882, p. 905.

of the Russian point of view. The author shows that the trouble between Jew and gentile is not primarily racial nor religious, but economic. The information in the article is based on a collection of documents which purport to reveal the inner life of Jewish communities. These documents were obtained by semi-official means and edited by Joseph Brafmann, a converted Jew and a teacher of Hebrew in the Seminary of Minsk. Brafmann represents the Jews as "building a state within a state," to the great detriment of the country which they inhabit. The Jews are taught to regard the property of the gentiles as a "waste free unto all," and they are even authorized by their local administrative council to obtain possession of it "by any means whatsoever," the money lending process being the most efficient means. The organization of the local councils and the powers conferred upon them by the state are shown to be well fitted to compel the obedience of the Jews on the one hand and to oppress their gentile neighbors on the other. According to Commissioner Schulters, one-third of the Jews of Russia already own one-half of the property, although the ratio of Jews to Christians is only one to twenty.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding the extensive emigration from the pale, the conditions, according to Arnold White, are steadily growing worse. Many each year are assisted to emigrate by the De Hirsh fund, though, out of consideration to the sentiment in the United States, they are now being sent to the Jewish colonies in the Argentine Republic.<sup>2</sup>

The condition of the Jews in Poland is superior to that in Russia, and emigration from there is about normal. The Jews in Poland have been allowed much

<sup>1</sup> Report of the commissioners of immigration, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the commissioners of immigration, p. 24.

greater freedom than those in Russia, for it is the belief of the Russians that the presence of Jews in the land will weaken the Poles.

Turning now to the countries from which emigration to the United States has been less remarkable than with the Irish, the Italians, and the Jews, and looking first at British America, we find that the greater part of their emigration is from Nova Scotia alone. Boston gets very few of the French Canadians who go in such large numbers to the large manufacturing cities of New England. The British Americans belong chiefly to the artisan or clerking class. They are attracted to the busier life of the United States in the hope of finding better industrial opportunities. The proximity of the two countries and the similarity of their institutions permit a considerable immigration for a comparatively small economic advantage. The mere desire of young people to travel causes many Canadians to try American life for a time. Doubtless during certain parts of the year employment is more easily obtained in the United States; but the cost of living is higher, and the result is that when work gets slack the majority return to their own homes. The estimate was made by the immigration investigating commission of 1895 that of the immigrants from Quebec to the United States not more than one-sixth came to this country with the intention of remaining permanently.<sup>1</sup> The large number of single persons among the British American immigrants is another cause of their mobility; for according to the report just mentioned, the temporary immigrants commonly known as "birds of passage" are composed chiefly of single persons.

The causes of emigration from England, Scotland, and Wales are not unlike those which lead to emigra-

<sup>1</sup> Report of the immigration investigating commission, p. 162.

tion from British America. The grade of emigrants is about the same, except that we get a more heterogeneous class from the industrial centers of England. Although the journey from Great Britain is a much greater undertaking than that from the British provinces, not a few artisans come from that country for the season, returning after a few months. Considering the distance, the movement of labor between Great Britain and the United States is very free. During the last few years nearly as many have returned to England as have come from that country.

Most of the Germans in Boston are from the states of Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, and Saxony. The immigrants are very commonly peasants, although there are many skilled laborers among them. The competition of American wheat has been disastrous for the peasantry in nearly all European countries, and in Germany small farmers have found it necessary to get factory employment for a part of the year in order to ensure a livelihood. Agricultural laborers in Bavaria receive from 25 to 37 cents a day with board, and expert weavers are paid \$17.00 or \$18.00 a month.<sup>1</sup> The large number of German immigrants who have been in this country since 1850 also act as a powerful stimulus to further immigration. Compulsory service in the army has been considered by some as a cause for emigration, but it is not so considered by United States Commissioner Schulters, who in 1891 investigated the causes which lead to emigration from Germany.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Self, Why they come, *North American Review*, 134, 347.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the commissioners of immigration, p. 288.

## CHAPTER II

### CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

The immigrants of the present day not only represent less hopeless social conditions than the Irish who emigrated during the middle of the century, but they are also subject to a selective process in the form of immigration laws and of an efficient system of regulations which were not in force at that time.

The first restrictive immigration law of general application was passed in 1882. Its purport was to refuse admission to convicts, lunatics, idiots, and all persons likely to become a public charge. Since 1885 alien contract laborers have also been excluded. In an act of 1891 the classes of excluded aliens, other than Chinese, were more carefully defined as follows: "All idiots, insane persons, paupers, or persons likely to become a public charge, persons suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, persons who have been convicted of a felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, polygamists, and also any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown on special inquiry that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes or to the class of contract laborers, excluded by the act of February 26, 1885, but this section shall not be held to exclude persons living in the United States from sending for a relative or friend who is not of the excluded classes under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe." In 1882 a tax of fifty cents was imposed upon every alien passenger coming to this country by sea from

foreign countries, and in 1894 the amount was raised to one dollar, the steamship companies being obliged to pay the tax.

The number of persons actually excluded on account of the provisions contained in these laws depends largely upon the judgment of the official administering them, but an acquaintance with the actual methods of applying the laws shows that reasonable precautions are taken. The number of persons debarred each year indicates only the minimum of the possible burden which the United States escapes through the operation of the laws, for their strict application doubtless keeps many undesirable persons from attempting entrance to this country. The following table, compiled from figures taken from the report of the commissioner general of immigration for the fiscal year 1900-01, shows the relative number of excluded immigrants among the most important nationalities :—

TABLE I.—PERCENTAGES OF EXCLUDED IMMIGRANTS AMONG  
IMPORTANT NATIONALITIES.

<i>Per cent</i>		<i>Per cent</i>	
Scandinavian .....	.18	Hebrew .....	.84
Irish .....	.39	Scotch .....	1.19
Portugese .....	.46	English .....	1.34
Northern Italian .....	.59	Southern Italian .....	1.34
German .....	.63		

The figures in this table include only steerage passengers, and of these the English and Scotch show a large percentage of debarred. If the total number of alien passengers were taken as a basis, these two nationalities would have a much smaller percentage of debarred and would rank below the German. The order of the other nationalities would, however, remain unchanged. Making allowance for those English and Scotch who do not come in the steerage, the greatest number of debarred are among the Jews and the Italians, where the percent-

age, however, is decreasing somewhat from year to year. The order of nationalities remains pretty much the same.

About two-thirds of all the excluded persons come under the head of "paupers or persons likely to become a public charge," but a considerable number of contract laborers are discovered among the Italians. The average financial condition of the various peoples is better indicated, however, by the amount of money actually shown by the immigrants upon their arrival, for, of the nationalities who have been longest here, a large number of persons having no visible means of support are admitted because they have relatives in this country who are able to give a satisfactory guarantee of their independence. And again with some nationalities, notably the English, there is a greater difference in the material resources of individual immigrants than is the case with other nationalities. To offset the paupers among the English immigrants there are oftentimes second cabin passengers who have several hundred dollars carefully concealed about their persons. The average amount of money per capita among the different nationalities as compiled from the same report as the previous table is as follows:—

TABLE II.—AVERAGE AMOUNT OF MONEY PER CAPITA  
BROUGHT BY THE IMPORTANT NATIONALITIES.

English -----	\$40.00	Irish -----	\$15.00
Scotch -----	36.00	Portugese -----	11.00
Germans -----	30.00	Jews -----	9.00
Northern Italians --	23.00	Southern Italians --	9.00
Scandinavians -----	17.00		

In comparing this with the preceding table it will be noticed that, although a large percentage of the English and Scotch are debarred, those admitted are much the most well to do of our immigrants—and this leaves out of account the money brought over by second class



passengers. The Irish, on the other hand, though showing comparatively few exclusions, have very moderate funds. With the Italians and Jews we find the smallest average resources as well as the largest number of exclusions. The total amount of money brought into the country by immigrants during the fiscal year 1901 was \$7,383,822 or about \$15.00 per capita—certainly not a large amount of money with which to begin life in a foreign country. When immigrants are provided on the average with only \$9.00 each, as is the case with the Italians and the Jews, it is necessary that they should have good productive powers in order to be an economic advantage to the country.

Certain other important characteristics belonging to the various groups as immigrants, such characteristics as sex, age, and education, may be advantageously considered here.

In the total population of Boston the males are in the minority, in 1895 being 48.43 per cent of the whole. This characteristic is true both of the native and of the foreign born, but, as will be seen from Table III, the disparity is slight for the native born, the absolute difference being only 4040. Of the natives of New England, more females than males are living in the city; but of those who migrate to Boston from other states, the males are in excess of the females. Among the foreign born there are 13,548 more females than males, but the excess comes from four nationalities only—the Portuguese, the Swedes, the Irish, and the British Americans. In every other case the males exceed the females. The difference in the proportion of the males to the total number among the various nationalities is considerable, ranging from 41 per cent with the British Americans to 60 per cent with the Italians. In most cases this disparity is unimportant, amounting to only a

few hundred; and the cause of almost the whole excess of females over males in the population of the city is

TABLE III.—PERCENTAGE OF MALES IN TOTAL POPULATION OF BOSTON, BY PLACE OF BIRTH, COMPILED FROM FIGURES TAKEN FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE CENSUS OF 1895.

	<i>Per cent</i>		<i>Per cent</i>
<i>Total Population</i> ----	48.43	England -----	51.59
Boston -----	49.78	France -----	52.18
Other New England --	48.28	Scotland -----	52.53
United States -----	50.19	Russia and Poland ---	53.02
British America -----	41.33	Germany -----	53.18
Ireland -----	42.48	Canada (French) ----	54.55
Sweden -----	45.77	Norway -----	56.60
Portugal -----	48.80	Italy -----	60.07
Negroes -----	50.41		

due to the Irish and the British Americans. With the former the excess of females is 10,753, and with the latter 7345. It is difficult to get representative figures for the British Americans, however, because, as has already been pointed out, a large number are temporary residents. But since, owing to their occupations, the largest number of men are likely to be here during the summer months and the largest number of women during the winter months, the census, taken in the spring of the year, probably comes as near to a fair average as is possible.

The only case in which the excess of males is considerable is that of the Italians, with whom it amounts to 1592 according to the census of 1895; but there are reasons for thinking that this number is too small. In the early spring Italian laborers begin to leave the city for their work in the country; and as the work of enumeration for the 1895 census extended over the whole of May and a part of June, it can hardly be doubted that many Italian men who make Boston their home for a large part of the year were omitted. This would mean also that the total Italian population was larger in 1895 than

was indicated by the census, and such is thought to be the case by persons intimately acquainted with the Italian colony.

The effect of the difference in the numbers of the sexes is greater than might be thought, because there is not as yet sufficient association among the various nationalities for the excess of males in one nationality to offset the excess of females in another. The result is that in one section of the city there is a considerable excess of males, and in another section a still greater excess of females. This local inequality of the sexes has an important bearing upon the social life of the various national groups, and consequently upon the moral tone of the city.<sup>1</sup>

The ages of Boston's population by place of birth cannot be obtained; consequently statistics for immigrants are given as compiled from the immigration report for 1900-01. They refer to the total number of immigrants. The table of illiterates is also compiled from the same reports, as information on this subject is not given in the census.

TABLE IV.—PERCENTAGES OF THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES  
BELONGING TO THE THREE AGE PERIODS.

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Between 14 and 45 yrs.</i>	<i>Under 14 yrs.</i>	<i>Over 45 yrs.</i>
Irish .....	92.13%	4.14%	3.73%
Scandinavians .....	86.92	7.66	5.42
Northern Italians .....	86.20	8.64	5.16
Southern Italians .....	77.74	14.16	8.09
Germans .....	73.84	18.82	7.34
Scotch .....	73.68	15.82	10.50
English .....	72.87	15.44	11.69
Hebrews .....	70.74	23.40	5.86
Portuguese .....	65.96	25.37	8.67

As the native born between the ages of 14 and 45 years comprise only 51.54 per cent of the total native

<sup>1</sup> These facts will be considered in greater detail farther on.

born, it will readily be seen how much larger is the proportion of productive laborers among all the migrating peoples than it is in a population more nearly normal. Almost all the Irish are included between these ages, the number of children among Irish immigrants being very small. The smallest proportion of persons between the ages mentioned occurs in the case of the Jews and the Portuguese; but this is because they, more than any other nationality, emigrate in families. As will be seen by the second and third columns of this table, the difference is in the number of children and not in the number of older persons. The Germans, English, and Scotch, and now even the Italians, show a large proportion of children under 14 years of age. The number of women and children among the Italian immigrants has increased of late years, and it indicates the increased permanency of that immigration. But that the exceptional immigration of males and probably of "birds of passage" has not ceased is apparent from the fact that 78.55 per cent of the Italian immigrants for the fiscal year 1901 were males. Next to the Irish the Scandinavian immigrants show the least tendency towards family emigration, although young married couples and persons intending to marry in this country are frequently found among the Swedish immigrants.

It will be noticed that the percentages of children represented in the second column are in almost exactly the inverse order of the percentages in the first column, but the percentages of older immigrants given in the third column follow no regular order. These older persons are, however, the least numerous of the three classified ages. Pioneer immigrants from a country are likely to be unattached individuals, who often send for

other members of the family after a few years, so that the proportions of the different ages for a given year may not represent the normal. If the ages of immigrants could be followed accurately from year to year, the number of children and of aged persons in a nationality emigrating from purely economic causes would probably represent a proportion steadily increasing to a maximum and then decreasing to the normal.

The table has been arranged according to the apparent economic productive powers of the nationalities, but only a superficial observer would make economic energy the sole test of a desirable population. When one is beginning life in a new country, the steadying and stimulating influences of the family seem to be especially needful. We glance at statistics and congratulate ourselves that such a large percentage of our immigrants are productive laborers; but the statistics do not show us that all these promising immigrants are industriously engaged in useful labor, or that the product of their labor is always to the advantage of this country. As to the larger question of whether the most healthy social life accompanies the largest proportion of economic power, the remainder of this study will perhaps give some light.

There is a marked difference in the education of the different nationalities at the time of their arrival.

TABLE V.—PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERATES AMONG IMMIGRANTS, COMPILED FROM THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, 1900-01.

Scandinavians .....	.62	Northern Italians_	12.84
Scotch .....	1.35	Hebrews .....	17.80
English .....	1.63	Portuguese .....	46.19
Irish .....	3.12	Southern Italians_	49.12
Germans .....	3.98		

Nearly all the Scandinavians can read and write, and immigrants from the British Isles and Germany are

generally literate. British America is not included in the table with the other countries, but doubtless it would rank much the same as the British Isles in this respect. This general literacy of the nationalities just mentioned is far from being equalled among some of the more recent immigrants. Nearly one-half of the southern Italians and almost as large a proportion of the Portuguese are illiterate. It is evident that education in southern Italy has not yet extended to the mountainous districts of the interior, whence a large proportion of our immigrants come. Statistics for the Portuguese ordinarily show a larger percentage of illiterates than those for the Italians. In 1899 two-thirds of the Portuguese immigrants were illiterate, and the amount of illiteracy in Portugal is much greater than in Italy. The northern Italians make a much better showing, but even their 13 per cent of illiterates tends to lower the general average. Eighteen per cent seems too large a proportion for the Hebrews, but a greater part of this would doubtless be found to exist among the women. The education of the Hebrew boys is much more carefully attended to than is that of the girls.

Illiteracy among immigrants is not always, however, an index of their desire for an education. Immigrants who have been hitherto deprived of educational opportunities sometimes make the best possible use of their opportunities here, though on the whole those nationalities who have the least education seem to appreciate it the least. Almost immediately upon their arrival children under fourteen years of age are turned into the schools, where they are taught to read and write, as well as to speak, the English language. In more than one school district in Boston a room is set apart for children who have been in this country less than two months.

The evident advantage which this beginning of an education gives to a family in its struggle for existence makes most immigrants appreciate the opportunity, but to the poorest immigrants the wage-earning capacity of the children is all important, and the school becomes an unwelcome necessity, although families are always glad to use the school as a means through which licenses may be obtained for selling papers or blacking boots. This is especially true of the poorest families of the Italians and the Jews, who need to use the entire wage-earning capacity of the family. On the whole the Italians and the Portuguese care less for education than the Jews, the sifting out of the children being more noticeable even in the lower grades of the schools.

Among some of the Jewish families education seems to be more highly prized than it is by any other nationality. Not infrequently considerable sacrifice is made in order that a promising son may go through the high school or even through college. An education is one method of social advancement, and opportunities of that nature are not to be disregarded. The sole object of attainment for the Jew is not wealth, but power. He is seized with an irresistible desire to get on, and all means to that end are pursued with the same tenacity that is manifested in the pursuit of wealth. And the Jews have much the same capacity for success in education that they have in other lines. Some of the children are dull, but the majority are among the brightest in the schools. It is asserted in some of the schools that Jewish children graduate on the average a year younger than children of other nationalities. It is a noticeable fact, at least, that Jewish children are more acute than others in certain mathematical calculations. An example may appear complicated in the

book, yet the suggestion "How much do you make?" clears up the matter as though a new sense had been brought into play. Jewish children have the greatest contempt for their mates who get the gains mixed up with the losses in a business transaction.

Irish children make about medium progress in educational lines. A goodly number of Irish are in the higher institutions of learning, though the majority of the children of immigrants are satisfied with a small amount of schooling. Very many leave school for work as soon as the law allows. The special characteristic of the Irish children is their quick-wittedness. Among the adult immigrants a natural keenness rather than a disciplined mind has been the cause of success.

The Negroes probably make the least use of their educational opportunities of all the racial factors. The majority of this race have little ambition in educational lines. This does not mean that they are generally illiterate, for only the older ones who have seen something of slave days are entirely uneducated; nor does it mean that they do not appreciate an education. Many even carry their fine ideas of educational propriety to an absurd extent, as did the Negress who thought "all novels trash," and read nothing lighter than Emerson. The fact is that for the Negro children the labor of attainment is too great. In the lowest grades of the school these children seem exceptionally mature, but as they advance they become less successful and their interest wanes. Even the work of the grammar schools is too arduous for many. The best educated persons among the Negroes are usually mulattoes.

As we proceed to a more detailed study of the characteristics which the various racial groups have developed in this country, we should bear in mind the characteris-



tics which they possess when they come to us in the first place. These may now be briefly summarized.

The Irish immigration during the middle of the century, an immigration which made Boston an Irish city, was composed of persons who represented the poorest of social conditions. Irish immigrants of the present time represent greatly improved social conditions, but only small material resources. As most of the immigrants have relatives in this country, however, they are usually admitted. A large proportion of the immigrants are women; indeed, the excess of females in Boston is due chiefly to the Irish. Nearly all of the present immigrants are single persons of an age to make themselves economically independent. Comparatively few of the Irish are wholly illiterate, although a larger number of illiterates come from Ireland than from other parts of the British Isles.

Emigration from the British provinces gives us young men and a still larger number of young women who find in the United States more opportunities for work and higher wages than in their own country. As economic advancement is almost their only object in migrating, frequent return to their own country is advantageous and has earned for them more than for any other nationality the name of "birds of passage."

Both Jewish and Italian immigration represent little money and very poor social conditions—the poorest, in fact, of any of the nationalities now settling in Boston. Persecution has been chiefly instrumental in bringing the Jews. Since whole families are compelled to emigrate, the Jews bring with them a larger proportion of children than do the other nationalities. In the case of the Italians, on the other hand, the majority of the immigrants are men, who come to this country as

pioneers. They are mostly peasants, are generally illiterate, and of an age which fits them for hard manual labor. Some return to Italy within a few years, while others, settling here, send for the remaining members of their families.

The immigration of the English, the Scotch, and the Germans is more normal than that of the peoples just considered. In each case there is a slight majority of males. They bring a larger amount of money with them than the other nationalities, and nearly all have the rudiments of an education. The Scandinavians have the largest percentage of literates of any nationality, and, next to the Irish, the largest proportion belonging to the self-supporting age. But with them more women than men emigrate, and they bring only a little more money than the Irish. The Portuguese emigrate in families in the same proportion as do the Jews. They bring less money than the Irish, and are among the most illiterate of all the nationalities that come.

## CHAPTER III

### STANDARD OF LIVING

Having considered the chief characteristics of the various racial groups as immigrants, we are prepared to study their social and economic life as residents of the country. Let us consider first their standard of living, including in this consideration the location, dwelling, and diet of the people.

The North End, the oldest part of Boston, was one of the chief resorts of the Irish when they first settled here, and it is now the home of a large proportion of the recent immigrants. At present it is especially an Italian quarter, although Russian Jews and Irish live there in large numbers. Representatives of twenty-two other nationalities, including a majority of the Portuguese, are also to be found in this quarter, but none of these constitutes a large factor of the population.

Although the North End is still the most noticeably foreign part of the city, both in the number and in the variety of its immigrants, it is by no means the only immigrant quarter. The Jews have already taken almost exclusive possession of the northern part of the West End, and in the South End and in East Boston they are becoming numerous. The Irish may be found in large numbers in every tenement district of the city, and they are still one of the chief factors in the population of South Boston, East Boston, and Lower Roxbury. More Germans are living in Roxbury than in any other section of the city, although a goodly number are to be found in the South End, the district which they formerly occupied. The Negroes have been living in the West End and in the South End almost exclusively for

many years, but now a new section near the Roxbury line is becoming the most popular of all. Many of the English-speaking foreign inhabitants, as well as those Americans who have migrated to Boston from other parts of the United States, are denizens of lodging houses which are located in the greatest numbers in the West and South Ends.<sup>1</sup> The dwelling houses in the North End are nearly all tenements. Some of those on the principal streets are modern structures of large size, but in some of the back streets old wooden houses are preserved as tenements of a small type. The large tenements, which are common also in other parts of the city proper, have the disadvantage of lack of privacy for family life. Altogether too many of the utilities *must* be used in common; sometimes a single sink placed in the hall does service for all the families on the floor.

In the West End there is a peculiar type of Jewish tenements which were built primarily to rent, not to live in; but incidentally they serve as dwellings for many families. These dwellings are not always new, nor are the alterations made in them always deep. Bay windows and fancy ornaments make them beautiful to look upon, while bells and speaking tubes raise them to the dignity of apartments. In fact they look as though the Jews had put them through the old clothes process and they had come out "cleaned, repaired, dyed, and pressed."

A characteristic of the South End is the large number of the tenements which have been evolved out of the brick dwellings of former well-to-do residents. The advantage of these houses is that they are small, accom-

<sup>1</sup> See maps in "The city wilderness" and in "Americans in process" for the exact location of the foreign born, and also for the character of the buildings.

modating from three to six families only. They are also well built, though their construction is ill-adapted to tenements, the fewest possible alterations having been made in them. Tenement houses in South Boston and in Roxbury are almost exclusively of the small type, but they were built for tenement houses and consequently have not the inconveniences of many of those in the South End. The monotony of all these districts is occasionally relieved by "model" tenements, or at least by those designed primarily for living purposes. And these tenements are just as available for the poor as are any others, for the rents are no greater than those charged for the less desirable rooms.<sup>1</sup>

The following table is of interest as showing the comparative numbers of each nationality living in rented tenements in 1891:—

TABLE VI.—PROPORTIONS OF THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES  
LIVING IN RENTED TENEMENTS IN 1891.

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Estimated Population</i>	<i>No. in Rented Tenements<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Percent- age</i>
Germany.....	10,470.....	6,454.....	61.64
Other states of U. S. ....	64,419.....	40,449.....	62.79
Massachusetts.....	231,130.....	152,449.....	65.95
Great Britain and colonies	18,453.....	12,286.....	66.58
Ireland.....	71,497.....	47,864.....	66.97
Norway and Sweden.....	4,588.....	3,210.....	70.00
British America.....	39,476.....	29,391.....	74.45
Portugal.....	956.....	1,000.....	—
Italy.....	5,354.....	5,922.....	—
Russia.....	5,840.....	7,911.....	—

The population for 1891 is estimated from the number given in the federal census of 1890 and the state census of 1895. In the case of the Portuguese, Italians, and Russians, a larger number were actually found in the tenements alone in 1891 than the total population ac-

<sup>1</sup> See the Eighth special report of the U. S. commissioner of labor, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Twenty-third annual report of the Massachusetts bureau of statistics of labor, p. 188.

ording to the estimate; therefore the growth of these nationalities in 1890-91 must have been proportionately larger than it was during the following years. At the same time we may safely conclude that practically all the families of these nationalities were living in rented tenements. A larger number of Germans than of Americans were living in homes of their own, though under "Massachusetts" are included all the children of the foreign born. The British and Irish come next to the Americans, with about equal proportions. The Scandinavians who come next show a large percentage owning homes when we consider how large a proportion of them have come within recent years. The small number of British Americans is the natural result of the temporary character of that immigration.

In some of the large tenement houses of the principal streets of the North End, as well as in the smaller tenements of the back alleys, the Italians live in a more crowded manner than any other people in the city. In 1891, when the tenement house census of Boston was taken, two precincts of the North End occupied almost exclusively by Italians contained 259 families, or more than one-fourth of the total population, who were living on an average of two persons to a room; and 154 of these families were occupying single rooms. The average number of persons to a room for the two precincts was 1.41. Since that time the board of health has ordered vacated some of the least sanitary of these houses and has improved the condition of others; in 1895, however, the average density of the population for the whole ward and probably also for these precincts was found to have increased somewhat, and in 1899 individual cases of crowding were discovered which were worse than those

reported in 1891.<sup>1</sup> A partial census of another part of the North End, taken in 1898, shows comparatively little change in the average density of the population. In 1891 the average number of persons to a room was found to be 1.37, and in 1898 1.39.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most objectionable features of the crowding of the Italians is found in the mode of life of the single men. Ten or twelve men together will rent one room of a tenement, each paying 25 or 30 cents a week. They are entitled to a fire for the cold winter days, and the woman occupying the tenement agrees to have some care of their clothing. This is their home for the time being. During the winter much of their leisure is spent in their rooms or in the saloons drinking beer or playing cards. In many cases beer is one of the chief items of expense, for the food of the Italians is as inexpensive as their lodgings. Two meals a day, sufficiently elaborate to repair the vital forces expended in card-playing, can be obtained for about a dollar a week.<sup>3</sup> Most of the recent immigrants, whether single men or families, have their eyes open for every possible means of economy. Italian women walking majestically through the streets, with great bundles of waste wood on their head, show their ability for obtaining cheap fuel. And children not infrequently are sent to the large markets to gather vegetables which have been thrown away because no longer fresh.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Harold K. Estabrook, pamphlet, *Some slums in Boston*.

<sup>2</sup> Labor bulletin No. 11, July, 1899.

<sup>3</sup> See Bulletin of the department of labor, 13, p. 722. An investigation of 742 Italian families, including 3711 persons in Chicago, showed that the cost of food per week averaged 82 cents for each member of the family.

<sup>4</sup> See Bulletin of the department of labor, 13, p. 722.

The Jews in the North and West Ends are only a little less densely crowded than the Italians. In two of the precincts which they occupy in the North End, according to the tenement house census of Boston taken in 1891, 230 families, or nearly one-fourth of the whole number, were living with an average of more than two persons to a room. In the case of the Jews it means a larger number of children and fewer adults than in the case of the Italians. Well-to-do Jewish families, even more frequently than Italian families, occupy cramped quarters. It suits those in modest circumstances as well as the poor, for small owners desire to receive as much and tenants wish to give as little of the unearned increment as possible. The poor Jews are probably the least cleanly in their houses of all nationalities if we compare only those Italians who live in families. House cleaning seems to be so religiously set apart for holiday observance only that even Jewish landlords, it is said, prefer to rent their houses to other nationalities. In the matter of food the Jews have a much higher standard of living than the Italians. Beef and poultry are staples, instead of vegetables as with the Italians. Marketing is an important part of the life in their quarter. Towards evening hucksters of all kinds of food supplies turn the streets into veritable markets, offering their products at prices somewhat below those of the regular dealers.

The most congested portions of the Irish districts are in South Boston. In two districts of old ward 13, which was situated in the northern part of the island, the average number of persons to a room in 1891 was found to be 1.24, although hardly any tenements contained more than two persons to a room. The Irish usually keep their tenements cleaner than either the Jews or the



Italians. The number of unthrifty Irish, however, strikes an observer as being very large, and with this class home life is shiftless and disorderly. The Irish have no natural instinct for economy. That characteristic which is generosity with one class is carelessness with another. Frequently they pay more than is necessary for rent, and are wasteful in their marketing, with the result that the standard of life in Irish families would often indicate a smaller wage than is actually received. The more thrifty class of Irish raise their standard of living pretty rapidly as their incomes increase, and they readily adopt American standards.

In that part of Roxbury occupied by Germans the population is less dense and the tenements are lighter and in better condition than those in the North End or in many of the other tenement sections of the city. The German differs from most immigrants in the value he sets upon physical comforts. He does not select a hole in the ground for an abode, and he does not prefer fine raiment to a good dinner. According to some standards the Germans might be considered extravagant, but they are more thrifty than the Irish, and consequently can maintain a higher standard with the same expenditure.

In the colored quarters many instances of crowding are met with, but the average density is not high. In only one precinct which lies partly within the colored quarter in the West End is the average density more than one person to a room. Many of the Negro tenements are in alley-ways, and these are liable to be very poor. The poorer class of Negroes probably spend less on their lodgings than do almost any other people except the Italians. In this regard the contrast is especially marked between Negroes and Americans living in lodging houses. Of those receiving the same

wages, the Negro will save by living in an uncomfortable and unsanitary room, while the American will economize in almost every other way in order to have a more homelike apartment. In the matter of food the Negroes usually live as well as their incomes will permit. They do not stint themselves in this line, and they do not like to see others go hungry. Then the Negroes nearly always keep their quarters tidy. It must be admitted as especially true of Negroes that the more successful wage-earners spend a large proportion of their incomes upon clothing, decorations, and sensual pleasures.

The question of sanitation in tenements is distinct from that of crowding. The most densely crowded tenements are not always the least sanitary ones, although on the whole the Italians occupy the least sanitary as well as the most crowded quarters. The following table, taken from the tenement house census of Boston for 1891, shows the proportions of the three chief nationalities who were occupying unsanitary tenements in parts of the North and West Ends. The whole of the sixth ward was in the North End, and the seventh ward extended from the North End into the West End. Throughout the North End a large proportion of the Italian and Jewish residents were living in objectionable tenements. In one precinct of the North End more than half the Irish inhabitants were occupying unsanitary dwellings, but in the other sections the percentage of the Irish was much below that of either the Italians or the Jews.

The seventh ward contained the largest number of unsanitary tenements of any part of the city. In precinct 3 nearly all the Italians occupied unsanitary houses, and in precincts 4 and 5 a large percentage of the total population lived in objectionable tenements.

TABLE VII.—PERCENTAGES OF THE THREE GIVEN NATIONALITIES LIVING IN TENEMENTS "POOR AND BAD" IN AT LEAST ONE RESPECT.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Ward</i>	<i>Precinct</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Italians</i>	<i>Russians</i>
6-----	1-----	54.78-----	31.03-----	55.36
	2-----	9.22-----	34.53-----	18.63
	3-----	18.59-----	49.63-----	29.17
	4-----	29.65-----	65.61-----	40.17
	5-----	13.71-----	38.48-----	21.47
7-----	1-----	13.19-----	65.11-----	11.63
	2-----	12.98-----	57.72-----	24.32
	3-----	19.57-----	86.79-----	37.10
	4-----	46.59-----	70.72-----	80.38
	5-----	43.20-----	62.64-----	78.29
Average-----		27.148-----	56.226-----	39.652

In these last mentioned precincts the proportion of the Jewish residents was the largest. The average for the two wards shows the poorer situation of the Italians, for over one-half of their number were occupying unsanitary quarters as against forty per cent of the Russians and twenty-seven per cent of the Irish. This is the only part of the city in which a comparison of this kind can be made among the different nationalities. In other sections the unsanitary houses were less numerous, but not a few were in the Irish districts of the South End and of South Boston and in the Negro quarters of the West End.

To understand the environment of many of the English-speaking immigrants, we must turn from the tenement house to the lodging house. Representatives of nearly all the nationalities are to be found in the lodging houses, but a large percentage of the British Americans and English occupy them, and most of the houses are kept by British Americans or by Americans who have come to Boston from other parts of New England. Boarding and lodging houses in the census definition of the term include those houses "occupied entirely for the accommodation of boarders and lodgers and contain,

<sup>1</sup> Tenement house census of Boston, 1891.

except in a few cases, more than fifteen residents.”<sup>1</sup> In 1891 there were 1642 such houses, and they had a population of 27,512. This number has greatly increased, however, for in 1895 54,442 boarders and lodgers were enumerated, and consequently they now form no inconsiderable part of the population. This last figure, however, includes all boarders and lodgers wherever found, while the first simply gives the number of inhabitants of lodging houses as above described.

Lodgers are by no means confined to houses of this description. Many apartments spare an extra room for the accommodation of one or two lodgers, and even more frequently lodgers are crowded into tenement rooms of scant dimensions. Small rooms with no outside windows and even parts of rooms are let for lodgings, and in this way a single man can get sleeping accommodations for fifty cents a week. The crowding to which this gives rise among the Italians has already been noted, and among the Irish and the Negroes overcrowding of the same nature is of frequent occurrence.

There are several grades of regular lodging houses. The Beacon Hill district and parts of the South End contain boarding and lodging houses which offer very comfortable homes to persons who are not in a position to have homes of their own. From these there is an almost uninterrupted scale of descent to tramps' lodgings. The average lodging house is neither unendurable nor yet very comfortable. It is usually one which has been deserted by its former owner and occupied on account of its undesirable location, and is rented to some person or persons who are willing to speculate upon their future livelihood by caring for lodgers. Beneath their calm exteriors these houses are actually struggling

<sup>1</sup> Massachusetts state census, 1895, vol. 1, p. 538.

for existence on the one hand and for respectability on the other. The conditions in some parts of the South End are such as to place the combination of these two attributes in almost unstable equilibrium, and most houses prefer to sacrifice a bit of their meagre store of respectability in order to continue their existence, rather than to keep up a stern and threatening attitude of propriety in the face of a yearly deficit.

The lodgers themselves are clerks, salesmen, saleswomen, mechanics, waitresses, and unskilled laborers, young people full of hope for business success in the city, and older persons with small incomes and chronic lodging house habits. The rooms occupied vary greatly both in price and in comfort. A large front room costs \$4.00 or \$5.00 a week and is usually occupied by two persons. The corresponding room in the rear is about a dollar cheaper. Side rooms with one window and very little space not occupied by the scant furniture may be had for \$1.50 or \$2.00 a week. These rooms are always the most easily rented as they best suit the purses of the majority of lodgers. The popular dining rooms for lodgers are to be found in the basements of many lodging houses, though usually they are under separate management. The expressive sign, "Ladies \$3.00, Gents \$3.50," indicates to the initiated what may be had within. The boarder must provide himself with a meal ticket, and this is carefully punched by a sharp-eyed individual when he leaves the room. This lodging house class, whether composed of rural Americans or of foreign immigrants, is for the most part in a different social and industrial position from those who crowd the tenement sections, and should be carefully distinguished from the mass of immigrants. Ordinarily these lodgers have a higher social standard and are

struggling to maintain it. To do this they remain single and stick to the lodging house. In making a study of the population of a city, it is misleading to group the tenement and the lodging house classes together, simply because they may all be immigrants. The social characteristics of the two classes are likely to differ widely.

To recapitulate: it will be seen that the environment and standard of life of the racial groups in Boston correspond pretty closely to their characteristics as immigrants. The Jews who have known no other life than that of the ghettos of European cities find no inconvenience in the crowding and filth of Boston slums. Their lives hitherto have been greatly restricted, and a beginning is made here with very slender resources; but, since they are possessed with an irresistible desire to get on, immediate comfort is subordinated to this end, probably with little sense of sacrifice.

The Italians, a large number of whom are single men migrating for purely economic reasons, are living in the most crowded and on the whole the most unsanitary quarters of the North End, and are maintaining a standard of life which insures the greatest amount of saving possible.

The Irish who came during the middle of the century were exceedingly poor and occupied correspondingly wretched quarters. They have now had time to improve their condition, and in general their standard of life has been raised in the same degree. The more successful conform pretty closely to American standards. The poorer class, however, occupy somewhat better homes than the Italians or Jews, but live on a low plane through ignorance and shiftlessness, rather than through a desire to save.

The Negroes, who have been used to little freedom and independence in action, lack judgment and prudence in the use of their resources, and their manner of living shows little of the Hebrew sense of provision for the future. Homelike, healthful surroundings are sacrificed in order that a love of personal display and the more sensual appetites may be gratified.

The Germans and Scandinavians have been accustomed to better social conditions than any of these. As immigrants they are more literate and are in better financial circumstances, and they maintain a higher standard of living in this country.

The better class of British Americans and English have some resources to begin on, and they are in much the same situation as American immigrants from the rural districts. Many of them dwell in lodging houses which form temporary and often desolate substitutes for homes, but which enable them to maintain a somewhat higher social standard than the majority of immigrants. At the same time another class of persons from these countries is to be found in some of the poorest tenement districts, incapable of maintaining a standard of life much above the line of dependence.

## CHAPTER IV

### VITALITY

Passing now to a more detailed study of the individual characteristics of the nationalities themselves, let us consider first the birth and death rates. The death rates will give us a rough idea of the racial vigor of the different groups, while a comparison of the figures for births and deaths will show the relative rate of multiplication. This rate of natural increase is all-important as showing from what nationalities and under what conditions of life the next generation is to come.

The impossibility of obtaining exactly comparable statistics for births and deaths by nationality should be clearly understood at the outset. In a comparison of the statistics obtainable, the difficulty for the most part lies in the comparison of figures for the foreigners with those of the Americans, because a second or third generation of foreigners has to be considered as "native-born," and, as a result, the groups are abnormal in composition. Take, for example, the mortality statistics by parent nativity. The third generation of foreigners—which should be very young persons—is included with the Americans, and therefore gives a disproportionately large number of children to the native group. Now if the children are mostly under five years, a period at which the death rate is high, the addition of this class to the native born would tend to raise the death rate among them and lower it correspondingly among the foreign groups. As a matter of fact, however, the death rate for the native group in Table VIII is about the same as for the whole of Massachusetts, and only a little higher than that for northern European countries.



Infants under five years of age, with whom the death rate is high, may be offset in this case by children over ten years of age, with whom the death rate is low. At any rate the error seems to be slight, and the mortality statistics may be considered roughly comparable.

The error in reckoning the birth rate is, however, more troublesome. In this case the second generation of foreigners is included with the natives, and the inaccuracy applies particularly to the more recent immigrants, who are multiplying rapidly. This large addition of young persons to the native group makes the birth rate for them too small and that for the foreign group somewhat too large. The abnormal birth rates obtained for the foreign groups is due only in a slight measure to the cause just explained. Foreign immigrant groups do not represent normal populations, for, since immigrants on arrival belong for the most part to the reproductive age, the birth rate among groups recently arrived is abnormally large. The figures given in Table IX do not represent the relative fecundity of the various groups in Boston, but rather their actual rate of increase.

The mortality rates in Table VIII are computed from the number of deaths as compiled by the board of health. In order to avoid any irregularities which might occur in a single year, the number per thousand of the population is found by taking the average number of deaths for each nationality for the three years 1894, 1895, and 1896 and dividing this by the number of the different nationalities as given in the state census of 1895. The rates for parent nativity are also given, and they are of more significance than those for place of birth, because they indicate more closely the true national groups.

TABLE VIII.—RATES OF MORTALITY BY PLACE OF BIRTH  
AND PARENT NATIVITY FOR THE VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS  
IN BOSTON, 1894-96.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>No. of Deaths</i>	<i>Rate</i>
<i>City</i> .....	11,494	23.12
Negroes .....	305 $\frac{2}{3}$	32.27
Ireland .....	2,058	28.75
United States .....	7,692 $\frac{2}{3}$	24.33
Scotland .....	90 $\frac{1}{3}$	19.26
England .....	238 $\frac{1}{3}$	17.92
Germany .....	187	17.14
British America .....	689 $\frac{1}{3}$	16.27
Italy .....	118	14.93
Other countries .....	232 $\frac{2}{3}$	13.15
Russia (1895) .....	73	6.09
Unknown .....	138 $\frac{1}{3}$	—

<i>Parentage</i>	<i>No. of Deaths</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Rate in Country Given,<sup>2</sup> 1895</i>
Other countries .....	853	41.37	—
Italy .....	294	25.88	25.3
Ireland .....	3,681 $\frac{2}{3}$	24.94	18.4
United States .....	2,635 $\frac{2}{3}$	19.03	19. (Mass.)
British America .....	691 $\frac{2}{3}$	17.34	—
Mixed parentage .....	997	17.00	—
England .....	262 $\frac{2}{3}$	16.10	18.7
Scotland .....	141 $\frac{2}{3}$		19.7
Russia .....	270	15.95	—
Germany .....	304 $\frac{2}{3}$	14.71	22.11
Unknown .....	1,158	—	—

Since the death rate for the city as a whole is 23, the Negroes, the Irish, and natives of the United States have a higher rate than the average. The mortality of the native born is ordinarily higher than that of the foreign born, because the native children of foreigners are included in the native born, and because the foreign immigrants have a smaller proportion of aged persons. According to the United States census of 1890, the death rate for the native born was 25.93, and that for the foreign 22.25. This being the case, the high death rate of the Irish is all the more surprising. As the Irish, however, have been in this country longer than most of

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the reports of the Boston board of health.

<sup>2</sup> British blue books, 105, No. 25, p. 104, and No. 46, p. 253.

the other nationalities, they doubtless have a larger proportion of aged persons. At the same time the Germans, who have been here nearly as long, show no such high rate of mortality.

As is the case in other parts of the country, the mortality of the Negroes is greater than that of the whites. In Boston it is larger than that of any other ethnic group. The national census of 1890<sup>1</sup> gave the death rate of the Negroes in Boston as 33.29 and that of the whites as 24.62. Much the same result was obtained by Frederick L. Hoffman in his study of the Negro race. The death rate in ten of the Southern cities was : whites, 20.12 ; colored, 32.61.<sup>2</sup> He found, furthermore, that the colored were subject to a higher death rate for all diseases of infants and for consumption, pneumonia, scrofula, venereal diseases, and malarial fevers.

The Scotch, English, Germans, and British Americans have moderately low death rates. The Italians, however, have an even lower death rate, notwithstanding their unhealthful mode of life. The cause is probably the youth and health of the Italian peasants who immigrate.

Perhaps the most remarkable figures in the table are those for the Russian Jews—6.09. This low rate of mortality is confirmed from other sources. A special investigation of the vital statistics of Jewish families made by the bureau of statistics of labor for 1890 gave the average death rate for about 12,000 Jews as 7.11, and for the eastern states as 6.29.<sup>3</sup> According to this report, deaths among the Jews are very seldom due to

<sup>1</sup> Vital statistics, pt. II, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Race traits and tendencies of the American Negro, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Twelfth census bulletin No. 19.

consumption, but are due to diphtheria much more commonly than is the case with other peoples.

The value of the second part of Table VIII, the death rate by parent nativity, is perhaps affected somewhat by the large number of cases in which the parentage was unknown. Still some of the more striking changes may be noted. The rise in the death rate among the Italians from 14.93 when reckoned by place of birth to 25.88 by parent nativity shows that their unhealthy environment and low standard of life has its effect upon the second generation if not upon the first. The difference must be due for the most part to the high infant mortality. The same thing seems to be true of the less important nationalities given under the head of "other countries." These smaller nationalities together include a considerable number of deaths, and the rate is even higher among them than it is among the Negroes. The death rate for the native Americans falls from 24.33 to 19.03 as a result of excluding the native born of foreign parentage. This rate would be lowered still further if it were not for the fact that the Negroes were included with the whites in the statistics for parent nativity.

According to Table VIII, the Irish, English, Scotch, and Germans have a smaller death rate by parent nativity than by place of birth; but owing to the large number of cases in which the parent nativity is unknown, we cannot conclude with certainty that the mortality of the second generation in each of these cases is smaller than that of the first. The mortality of the second generation of the Jews is greater than that of the first, the rate rising from 6.09 to 15.95. This shows, as in the case of the Italians, the effect of poor environment upon the children. Even with this difference in the death rate, however, the mortality of the Jews is remark-

ably low. The low death rate obtained for the Germans, 14.71, is in contradiction to the fact that employees of breweries are ordinarily subject to a high death rate. However, the Jews among the Germans probably lower the average rate of mortality, and furthermore all Germans live in fairly sanitary quarters, so that the mortality of the Germans would not be likely to be high, even though the parentage of all deaths had been reported.

The death rates of the various nationalities in Boston bear little resemblance to the death rates in the countries from which they come. In European countries these rates decrease quite uniformly with the temperature, the northern countries having the smallest death rates. The high mortality of the Italians in Boston corresponds to that in Italy; but in opposition to these figures, the rate for Ireland is low and that for the German Empire is high.

The difference in the death rates of the second generation of the Irish, Italians, and Jews is noticeable, and deserves further consideration. It cannot be due to the immediate environment, because the Jews are living in as poor surroundings as are the Irish, and nearly as poor as the Italians. In accounting for the difference it may be noted that the position of children is different among the Jews from what it is among the poor Irish and Italians. Family life is more complete with the Jews, and children are held in greater esteem. This is usually the case with peoples among whom the patriarchal idea of the family persists. Whenever, on the other hand, the idea of individual happiness takes precedence over family unity, divorce becomes more frequent and large families are looked upon as a misfortune. In addition to this difference in sentiment of parents towards

children, the Jewish religion teaches specific hygienic rules which doubtless help to preserve the lives of the children.

In mentioning these very general race characteristics there is no intention of ignoring the exceptions. It is true that desertions, if not divorces, are not infrequent among the Jews; and in many cases children are treated with anything but tenderness. Nor is there any intention of minimizing the love which even the very poor Irish and Italian parents have for their children. Their sentiment, however, seems to be of a somewhat different character. The pleasure which they derive from their children is more of a personal matter, and affection varies more readily with the mood of the parent. That Johnny will sometime take his father's position and continue the house of the Murphy's is not the fondest hope of the Irish parent, though the probability that he will do so cannot be doubted. The love of the Irish parent is evident enough, but it is too often an impulsive, irrational, physical love. The ill health of Irish children is too often brought about by a disregard of the simplest rules of health. Mere infants are given half baked beans or cucumbers to eat, and if they fall ill their mothers show their love by giving them some delicacy like beer or ginger ale. If we could once grasp the number of things that Irish and Italian parents do not know, their high infant mortality would not seem so surprising.

The figures for births in Table IX are taken from the reports of the city registrar. They are not so complete and reliable as could be desired, but the rates differ so greatly for the different nationalities that a general comparison can be made, even though the rates are not exact. Births have not been reported of late years by

nationality, and averages for 1889 and 1890 are the latest that can be obtained. At this time reliance was placed chiefly upon a house to house canvas for information concerning births, the present system of physicians' reports dating from 1892.<sup>1</sup>

The rates in Table IX are obtained by dividing the number of births, which are given according to the nativity of parents, by the number of persons born in the specified country, as reported in the United States census of 1890. Births of mixed parentage are divided equally between the two nationalities to which the parents belong. As has been said, this gives the actual increase by propagation of the various groups, but does not permit a comparison of their natural fecundity, as the age periods and proportion of the sexes vary greatly among the different nationalities.

TABLE IX.—BIRTH RATES FOR VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS  
IN BOSTON FOR 1889-90.<sup>2</sup>

<i>Birth Place of Parents</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Rate in Country Specified<sup>3</sup></i>
<i>Total for the City</i> .....	—	29.31	—
United States .....	4,777	16.40	—
Negroes .....	227 ½	28.00	—
Holland .....	11	30.30	32.80
Switzerland .....	13 ½	31.80	28.00
France .....	30 ½	34.80	21.70
Scotland .....	181	40.30	30.40
England and Wales ..	564	41.00	30.30
British America .....	1,625 ½	42.40	—
Ireland .....	3,256	45.60	23.20
Germany .....	497 ½	48.00	36.10
Sweden .....	177 ½	52.00	27.50
Norway .....	51	59.20	30.60
Austria and Hungary ..	44	80.30	37.70 and 41.5
Russia and Poland ..	497 ½	94.60	—
Italy .....	493 ½	104.60	35.20
Unknown .....	507	—	—

<sup>1</sup> See report of the city registrar for 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Compiled from reports of the city registrar.

<sup>3</sup> British blue books, 105, No. 25, p. 14, and 104, No. 46, p. 253. Still births are excluded.

According to the report of the Massachusetts board of health for 1896, the birth rate for the state was 16.58 for native born and 50.40 for foreign born. This figure for the natives of the state corresponds very closely to that for the native whites in Boston. The rate for the colored is considerably higher than that for the native whites, but is smaller than that of any of the foreign born. Among the foreign born the rate for all the older immigrants is below the average of the total foreign born in Massachusetts, and the rate for the more recently immigrating foreigners is above the average. The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that after a few years the enormously high birth rate of the Jews and Italians will fall to that of the Irish and Germans. It is also probable that the birth rate of the Jews and Italians will fall somewhat, but there are two reasons for believing that it will remain higher than that of other nationalities: First, the birth rate of the Irish and the Germans, which is now the highest of the older nationalities, has never been nearly so high as that of the Italians and Jews of the present time. The birth rate of the Irish in 1845 was 67.7, and in 1850 it was 52.3, and that of the Germans 56.4. Secondly, the European birth rate of the Jews is much higher than that of other peoples, and the birth rate in Italy is much higher than that in Ireland, though it is the same as in Germany. The birth rate is seldomly reported for the Jews alone; but, wherever it is given, it is uniformly above that of the rest of the population. Of the Jews in Poland Arnold White says: "The Polish Jews have multiplied as no other race has multiplied. They are increasing at four times the rate of the Russians who think themselves the most prolific race in Christendom."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arnold White, *The modern Jew*, p. 37.



For a further analysis of these figures let us turn to Table X, where the natural increase of the ethnic factors is shown by the difference between births and deaths. Although, owing to the inaccuracies already mentioned in compiling these figures, the two sets are not exactly comparable, the table is nevertheless sufficiently accurate for a rough comparison of the relative rates of increase of the various groups. And the figures are supplemented and for the most part confirmed by a second method of reckoning the natural rate of increase given in the last column of the table—by estimating the percentage of increase of the native born of foreign parentage for the five years from 1890 to 1895. For example, an increase of the native born of Irish parentage for the five years ending 1895 was 3133, which is 4.37 per cent of 71,441, the number of the Irish in the city in 1890. This method gives very nearly the true rate of increase by propagation of each nationality, except that it does not allow for migrations to and from the city. Of course there is a slight irregularity arising from the fact that some nationalities were increasing by immigration more rapidly than others. As the native born children of foreigners immigrating between the years 1890 and 1895 are included with the others, the nationalities immigrating most rapidly during those years would show a disproportionately large rate of natural increase, because the percentages are compiled on the basis of the population in 1890. The rate differs so much, however, that the order of nationalities is unchanged if the percentages are based upon the population statistics for 1895 instead of those for 1890. Therefore this inaccuracy may be practically disregarded. The possible errors in the table have been fully set forth, but it is not probable that they are suf-

ficiently large to affect its real purpose, which is to find the relative positions of the various ethnic factors, in order that a fair comparison of them may be made. The absolute figures of the rates are of minor importance.

The death rates in this table are not those given in Table VIII, but are for the same years as the birth rates, 1889-90. The order of nationalities is very nearly the same as that given in Table VIII. A smaller number were reported "unknown" in 1889-90, and therefore the percentages are probably somewhat more accurate.

TABLE X.—NATURAL INCREASE OF THE VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS IN BOSTON.

<i>Nation- ality</i>	<i>Birth rate</i>	<i>Death Rate (Parent Nativity)</i>	<i>Differ- ence</i>	<i>Per Cent of Increase of Native Born of Foreign Parent- age, 1890-95</i>
Negroes -----	28.00----	30.80----	-2.80	----
United States --	16.40----	17.20----	-0.80	---- -3.67
Ireland -----	45.60----	25.20----	20.40	---- 4.37
France -----	34.80----	-----	-----	---- 6.90
British America	42.40----	17.40----	25.00	---- 6.39
Scotland -----	40.30----	15.70----	24.60	} 25.40 ---- 7.31
England -----	41.00----	14.70----	26.30	
Germany -----	48.00----	15.00----	33.00	---- 7.03
Sweden -----	52.00----	-----	-----	---- 10.85
Russia -----	94.60----	15.90----	78.70	---- 25.05
Italy -----	104.60----	25.30----	79.30	---- 21.25

The striking figures for the persons born in the United States, showing a higher death rate than birth rate, though apparently confirmed by the figures in the last column, cannot be considered conclusive, because the birth rate for the United States, as has been said, is doubtless somewhat too small. The decrease in the number of persons of American parentage shown in the last column may be due to the large migration of Americans from Boston to the suburbs during those years.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless it must be admitted that the

<sup>1</sup> See *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, June, 1899, p. 258.

native Americans in Boston are increasing by propagation very little if at all. It is improbable that this low rate of increase of native Americans is applicable to any large area of the United States, though in the cities of the older part of the country, where competition is strong and where there is a large foreign population, the natives are doubtless increasing very slowly.

A sufficient explanation of these phenomena may be found in the theory of A. Dumont<sup>1</sup> that the growth of population varies inversely with "social capillarity." And his contention that individual democracies are unfavorable to a high birth rate receives confirmation in the United States as well as in France. The truth is, competition is so keen in our large cities that the maintenance of the American standard of life, including social position, is inconsistent with the rearing of a large family and sometimes even with marriage itself. Moreover, young Americans just starting in life are strongly impelled by the competition of foreigners just below them to practice every economy in order to retain their superior social position. The fear of falling into the same class with persons of a different social type who themselves may have no social position in this country to lose is the strongest incentive to young Americans, and results in a practical check upon the second generation of the rural stock, which, we have reason to believe, was in former years a valuable factor in the population of the city. Proof of this may be found in the large lodging house class of Americans who either never marry or at best marry late in life.

Decrease in the case of the Negroes is an entirely different phenomenon from that in the case of the native whites. A high death rate instead of a low birth rate is causing

<sup>1</sup> Arsene Dumont, *Dépopulation et civilization*.

the Negroes to disappear. The failure of the Negroes to maintain their numbers by propagation is probably due in part to climatic causes, but it is due also to the many subtle influences which uniformly cause an inferior race to disappear when in direct contact with a higher civilization. A race can make the best use of its higher products simply because it has by its own efforts produced them. The capability of producing them implies the capability of using them. At the same time every race that survives must necessarily evolve a type capable of withstanding the vices attendant upon its own civilization, to the extent, at least, of enabling the sustaining forces to overbalance the destroying forces. Only a comparatively small minority of an uncultured race will be in a position to appropriate the best products of a higher civilization. On the other hand, the great majority are liable to be seduced by those attractions which appeal to the lower natures. As a result such a race is demoralized by forms of vice which it is not adapted to withstand. Thus life in a large city, among a different race, has its influence, along with climatic causes, in reducing the number of the Negroes.

The death rate of the Negroes in Boston was even larger in 1895 than it was in 1890, and we may therefore safely assume that the decrease is still continuing. The birth and death rates have varied somewhat for different periods, but for the most part they have never shown any tendency towards a natural increase.<sup>1</sup> The Negroes as a race seem to have a smaller power of resisting disease than do the whites. Professor Warner says, "The colored people are weak physically, become sick easily, and often die without visible resistance to

<sup>1</sup> See Hoffman, *Race traits and tendencies of the American Negro*, p. 36.

death."<sup>1</sup> Anthropologists tell us how easily death comes to primitive peoples. Not infrequently they die in a few hours simply from a superstitious fear or even from the simple desire to die because tired of life. It seems to be the rule that tenacity of life increases with the evolution of the race.

Of all the foreign nationalities the Irish show the smallest rate of natural increase. While this is perhaps contrary to the general opinion, it is proved both by the difference between the birth and death rates and by the low rate of increase of the native born of Irish parentage. Here again the cause is not in the low birth rate, as is the case with the Americans, but in the exceedingly high death rate. The explanation, therefore, does not lie in the fact that the Irish, being among the oldest inhabitants, are now hard pressed by later arrivals and as a result are propagating slowly, although this is doubtless true of a part of the Irish who have a social standing to maintain. As a whole, however, the Irish seem to be subjected to a strong process of natural selection, which is weeding out a large number who are physically unable to survive in their environments. The difference between the birth and death rates is nothing like that of the Negroes, with whom the destroying forces are greater than the reproductive. The natural increase of the Irish is actually large, although it is smaller than that of any of the other foreign nationalities.

The British Americans, Scotch, and English are all increasing at about the same rate. The birth rate of each is smaller than that of the Irish, but the death rate is so much smaller that their natural increase is considerably larger. This is shown by both methods of

<sup>1</sup> Amos G. Warner, *American charities*, p. 47.

calculation. The death rate of the English for this period was, in fact, smaller than that of any other nationality. The death rate for the French is not given, but the growth of the native born of French parentage shows a rate of increase for the French somewhat greater than that for the Irish, but smaller than that for the British Americans. The Swedes by the same methods of calculation show a much higher rate of increase. The Germans, owing to a higher birth rate, are increasing more rapidly than any of the English-speaking foreign born. This high rate, shown by the difference between the birth and death rates, is not so well confirmed as in the case of the other nationalities by the increase in the native born of foreign parentage as given in the last column. This, however, probably indicates a migration of the second generation from the city.

Considering the conditions under which the various nationalities live, the superior vitality of the Jews is manifest. Although many of them are poor and live in the most wretched tenement districts of the city, the mortality both of children and of adults is remarkably low. Doubtless the long experience of the Jews in the ghettos of European cities has, by selection, helped to evolve a race peculiarly adapted both morally and physically to withstand the unhealthful life of the slums. Another more direct factor working along the same line is the influence of their religion in its hygienic and moral regulations. The result of these two agents has been to form a people remarkably free from that class of moral degenerates who breed a weak offspring, destined merely to live a miserable life and die a premature death.

Following the same method of examination, it might be supposed that the Irish had lived under adverse cir-

cumstances long enough to evolve a race more tenacious of life than the rate of mortality among them indicates. There is, however, an obvious difference in the situation of the two peoples, for the great majority of the Irish come from rural districts, and consequently, unlike the Jews, they are unfitted to withstand the evil influences of the cities in which they congregate. Another important difference lies in the character of the two peoples. An exceptional sense of self-preservation has been developed by the Jews, at first probably by close contact with unfriendly people, and later through persecutions by immediate neighbors. The Irish, on the other hand, have been more isolated; their immediate struggle has been with nature rather than with men, so that they have not been forced to become self-centered. Now, however much more agreeable the greater radiation of the Irish temperament may be, it is certainly less effective when the question is one of mere survival.

That the Italians are unfitted to overcome the evil effects of unhealthful surroundings to the same extent as the Jews is evident from the greater mortality of their children. Like the Irish they are a rural class, and succumb to the unhealthful conditions of the city in about the same degree. The larger birth rate obtained for the Italians is probably owing to a smaller number of children and aged persons among the immigrants, and does not signify a greater natural fecundity than among the Jews.

To recapitulate the evidence as to the relative vitality of the various groups, it is noticeable that the most recent immigrants have the lowest death rate and the highest birth rate, the death rate tending to increase and the birth rate to decrease with length of residence. This is due in part to the fact that as time passes the

nationalities contain a larger percentage of older persons.

Of more significance is the mortality of parent nativity. From these figures we can trace a direct relationship between the mortality of the second generation and the standard of living maintained. The Irish and the Italians, who live in some of the least sanitary parts of the city and maintain a low standard of living, have, along with less important nationalities, the highest death rates of any of the foreign immigrants. The mortality of the second generation of the Irish is considerably smaller than that of the Italians, and, on the whole, the Irish maintain a higher standard of living. The Jews, it is true, occupy as crowded quarters as the other nationalities, and at the same time have a low rate of mortality; but, with the exception of their housing accommodations, they lead a much more healthful life than either the Irish or the Italians, and show greater intelligence in the care of their children. From the life of the Jews in European countries, it seems evident that they have become adapted through selection to the crowded life of city slums. In this connection it is interesting to note the comparative freedom of the Jews from consumption. The British Americans, the English, and the Scotch have a medium death rate; and all these nationalities are in somewhat better economic conditions than the Irish, and maintain a higher standard of living. The Germans, also, though ranking with the English in length of residence, have the smallest death rate of any of the nationalities, notwithstanding the fact that the rate of mortality for Germany is much higher than that for the British Isles. The high death rate among the Negroes, though due partly to climatic causes, seems to be due chiefly to inferiority of race.



The wide variations in the birth rate among the different groups is due for the most part to differences in ages and in the proportion of married persons among the immigrants. Whether it is due entirely to these causes or not cannot be absolutely determined. It seems probable, however, that the increased hopefulness among recent immigrants, if not the mere change of physical environment, acts as a stimulus to population. The birth rate among the later immigrants will probably be decreased as it has among the Irish, Germans, and other nationalities which arrived in the early part of the century; and the decrease in rate may mean a decrease in actual fecundity, especially if a general advance is made in the social scale. The low birth rate among the Americans seems to be due to the restraint necessitated by economic conditions imposed while they are striving to maintain their social position in the face of the threatening competition of foreign immigrants.

Finally, as to the question of the origin of the next generation, Table X shows that the Negroes will contribute nothing and that the influence of the old Americans will be imperceptible. The rate of natural increase of the Jews and Italians is far ahead of that of any other nationality; but, since they are not nearly as numerous as most of the other nationalities, their actual increase is less. The Irish, as might be expected, have the largest numerical increase for the five years ending with 1895, though they surpass the Russians by a surprisingly small margin. The Russians, with a population in 1895 of only 11,979, as against 71,571 Irish, made an actual increase during the previous five years of 3001, as against 3133 for the Irish. So the difference in the rate of increase for the two nationalities given in Table IX just about makes up for a six-fold difference in the

numbers of the two groups. The British Americans, who follow the Irish in point of numbers, come next with a numerical increase of 2810 for the five years. Next to them and ahead of the British come the Italians, a comparatively small group, with 1679. With a population only one-ninth as large as that of the Irish, their natural increase was more than half as large. Next in order are the British, 1138; the Germans, 967; and the Swedes, 531. The Germans, as previously noted, show a smaller actual increase than would be obtained from the difference between the birth and death rates.

Of the four racial groups contributing the largest numbers to the growth of the population of the city, three—the Irish, Russians, and Italians—represent, next to the Negroes, perhaps the poorest social conditions; and in the case of the Irish and Italians the growth is made at the greatest expense of human life. The Russians show the greatest tenacity of life, and they are rapidly surpassing other nationalities in natural increase. Between 1890 and 1895 the Russians grew 178 per cent by immigration and 25 per cent by propagation, and doubtless during the next five years they surpassed every other group.

## CHAPTER V

### OCCUPATIONS

Unfortunately statistics of a very recent date are unavailable, as the occupations of the population of Boston are not given by place of birth in the census of 1895. The statistics for 1885, however, are still sufficiently significant to be worth presenting, and a comparison of these with similar figures for 1870 will show the changes which have taken place in the character of employment along national lines. Before considering the various occupations in detail, the general situation for the total population as given in Table XI should be noted.

TABLE XI.—PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN GAINFUL  
OCCUPATIONS IN 1885, BY SEX AND PLACE OF BIRTH.<sup>1</sup>

	<i>Per Cent engaged in Gainful Occupations</i>		<i>Per Cent of Adult Fem- ales who were Housewives</i>
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	
<i>Total</i> .....	68.67	29.53	47.80
Ireland .....	93.72	47.22	Massachusetts 36.50
Germany .....	91.63	45.19	British Amer. 42.00
Sweden .....	91.57	41.48	Portugal 45.73
Portugal .....	91.46	34.44	Sweden 49.85
Scotland .....	88.43	33.54	Other states 50.03
England .....	88.08	30.05	England 55.80
Italy <sup>2</sup> .....	87.58	28.05	Ireland 56.63
Russia <sup>2</sup> .....	86.61	24.11	Scotland 58.93
British Amer. .	86.39	16.89	Russia 70.37
Other states .	85.76	15.30	Italy 72.53
Massachusetts.	50.57	14.17	Germany 74.10

In 1885 68.67 per cent of the total male population and 29.53 per cent of the female population were engaged in gainful occupations, though in this estimate the regularity of the employment is not considered. Of

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the Massachusetts state census of 1885.

<sup>2</sup> As the Italians and Russians were not given in 1885 in detail for Boston, the figures for the state are presented in this and the following tables. Boston at that time contained 77 per cent of the Russian and nearly 60 per cent of the Italian residents of the state.

those deducted as having no gainful occupation by far the largest number are children at home and at school, and, in the case of women, housewives and persons engaged in housework. The remainder come under the head of retired and dependent. Of the separate nationalities it will be seen that among the men the Irish show the largest percentage of persons employed, and the Germans, Swedes, and Portugese each have a slightly smaller percentage. The Scotch and English come next, and they are followed by the Italians and Russians. The British Americans and the Americans are last. The small percentage of persons of Massachusetts birth having an occupation is of course due to the fact that nearly all native children of foreign parentage are included in this category.

Turning now to the female population, a few significant changes are noticeable. A larger percentage of British American women than of men are engaged in gainful occupations, as are also a relatively large percentage of women from the United States outside of Massachusetts. On the other hand, German women enter industrial pursuits to a very limited extent, and Russian and Italian women in even smaller proportions. A large number of women engaged in industrial pursuits ordinarily means the immigration of single persons. This fact is brought out by the figures in the third column, which shows the percentages of housewives of the total adult female population in each group. By "housewife" is meant any person whose chief occupation is to take charge of the domestic affairs of a household. It happens that some women who are not married are so engaged, and doubtless a considerable number of married women have some other occupation, so that the figures are not intended to give the proportion of

married women among the different ethnic groups, though they indicate it approximately.<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that the figures in this column are roughly in inverse order to those in the preceding column, showing that a large proportion of married women in a nationality goes with a small proportion engaged in gainful occupations.

Natives of Massachusetts appear in their true position here, in as much as children are omitted and only adults considered. Massachusetts shows the smallest percentage of married women of any group, and the British Americans have the next smallest. A slight irregularity occurs in the case of the Irish. A larger proportion are married than might be expected, considering the number engaged in outside occupations. The reason is that a smaller proportion of Irish women who are unmarried remain at home than is the case with other nationalities. For the Portuguese the figures are somewhat misleading, because a large number of their married women are at work and are, therefore, reported under their occupation and not as housewives. A larger proportion of these than the table would indicate are, or have been, married. If we turn back to Table III, which shows the ratio of the two sexes, we shall see a very close correspondence, with the exception of the Irish, between the ratio of the sexes and the number of married women. The Italians, Germans, and Russians, who show very large percentages of married women, are the nationalities which have also the greatest excess of males; while the British Americans, Portuguese, and Swedes have an excess of females.

<sup>1</sup> In the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor for 1888, on Working women in large cities, out of the 1,406 included in the investigation for Boston, 58 women were reported as married.

A comparison of nationalities according to groups of labor is made in Table XII, which combines all occupations under three heads: (1) the professional and mercantile classes and those in the government employ; (2) artisans and skilled laborers; (3) unskilled laborers. Peddlers have been separated from the merchants and dealers and placed with the unskilled as they belong to a different social class from the majority of the merchants. By far the largest number of the first class are

TABLE XII.—OCCUPATIONS BY PLACE OF BIRTH FOR 1870 AND 1885.<sup>1</sup>

1. Per Cent Professional and Mercantile		2. Per Cent Artisans and Skilled Workmen		3. Per Cent Unskilled Workmen	
Total	26	Total	34	Total	24
Other states	36	Sweden	53	Ireland	48
Massachusetts	34	British America	49	Russia	46
Italy	24	Scotland	49	Portugal	38
England	20	Portugal	45	Italy	33
Germany	20	England	41	Germany	28
Scotland	18	Germany	40	Sweden	28
British America	17	Other states	36	England	23
Russia	15	Ireland	31	British America	21
Ireland	30	Italy	30	Scotland	19
Portugal	9	Massachusetts	29	Massachusetts	16
Sweden	8	Russia	22	Other states	14

1870.

1. Per Cent Professional and Mercantile		2. Per Cent Artisans and Skilled Workmen		3. Per Cent Unskilled Workmen	
Total	20	Total	27	Total	37
United States	22	British America	41	Ireland	66
Italy	16	Scotland	39	Sweden	51
Scotland	15	Germany	38	British America	36
England	13	England	33	Italy	35
Germany	12	Sweden	30	England	34
British America	8	United States	29	Scotland	31
Ireland	6	Italy	29	Germany	30
Sweden	3	Ireland	19	United States	21

native born, and persons from other states take a higher rank than those who were born in Massachusetts. This is probably because the Massachusetts-born include

<sup>1</sup> Occupations "not given" or "not classified" form quite a large percentage of the whole, and for that reason the three classes here given do not make 100 per cent.

children of foreigners, and so do not reflect the real American element. The Italians, English, Germans, Scotch, and British Americans have a moderately large number in the higher employments; while the Russians, Portuguese, Swedes, and Irish show a very small percentage. The Russian and Italian merchants are for the most part small dealers. Nearly one-half the Italian merchants are fruit dealers, and many of them are mere peddlers, though they are not so classed in the census. The artisan class is the one in which the British Americans predominate; it includes nearly one-half of them. Though the percentage of Scotch is nearly as large and that of the Swedes is even larger, as these groups form a much smaller percentage of Boston's population than do the British Americans, they do not affect the trades of the city in the same degree.

Though the artisan class as a whole is much larger than the first class, it contains a smaller number of Americans. This is true, however, of no other nationality; the English and Germans have a larger proportion than the average, the Irish and Italians a somewhat smaller one. The Russians, as we might expect, have a smaller proportion in this class than any other nationality; but it may seem surprising that there is a larger number here than in the mercantile class. Doubtless not all the Jews can enter their favorite occupations immediately upon their arrival. But it should be noted that the majority of Jews engaged in dickering were considered by the census officials to be peddlers. The fact that the tailoring trades are included under "skilled workmen" helps to account for the number of Jews in this class.

The column for unskilled labor shows a rough reversion of the order of the first column, though the Swedes, British Americans, and Scotch have a comparatively

small percentage in both these classes, for the reason that they belong predominantly to the artisan class. The Americans have a smaller percentage than any other nationality among the unskilled laborers, and the Irish have the largest. The Russians are represented here to nearly as great an extent as the Irish, and both nationalities show a larger percentage in this class of work than in both the other classes together, notwithstanding the fact that this group as a whole includes a smaller number of persons than either of the other groups. All the other nationalities except the Italians show a larger percentage of skilled than of unskilled labor.

The English and the Germans show a striking similarity in the proportion of persons entering the different grades of occupations, and the British Americans and Scotch are also very similar. The fact that two nationalities tend to enter the same grade of work does not necessarily imply that they are competing with each other. Owing to the minute division of labor a nationality may enter one particular branch even of unskilled labor without competing seriously with persons in another branch of the same grade of work.

Let us now turn to Table XIII to obtain an idea of particular occupations, though this table is by no means sufficiently detailed to show the precise nature of the employments. The first class of labor as given in Table XII was found to be represented for the most part by Americans, and this is especially true of the governmental and professional employments. A considerable number of the Irish are in the employment of the city, especially on the police force, and this number has doubtless increased in proportion with their longer residence here. In professional lines nearly as large a



TABLE XIII.—DETAILED OCCUPATIONS BY PLACE OF BIRTH OF  
MALES AND FEMALES FOR 1870, OF MALES FOR 1885.

Nationality	Total No. in Gainful Occupations		Laundry Work		Fishermen		
	Year	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885
Total -----		102,740	127,852	684	290	362	483
Massachusetts } -----	54,983	{ 50,068 23,575 }	129	{ 10 18 }	47	{ 61 13 }	
Other states } -----							
Ireland -----	31,701	26,907	504	3	293	332	
British Amer. -----	7,026	9,540	27	4	10	25	
England -----	3,106	4,644	7	2	3	5	
Scotland -----	979	1,522	3	1	-----	1	
Germany -----	3,165	4,423	7	-----	1	2	
Italy -----	302	2,307	-----	-----	-----	11	
Sweden -----	562	935	-----	1	2	1	
Portugal -----	-----	482	-----	-----	-----	29	
Russia -----	-----	977	-----	-----	-----	29	

Nationality	Car and Carriage Makers		Ship Builders		Agricul- turalists		Bakers and Confection- ers		
	Year	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885
Total -----		463	596	879	248	499	1,135	633	1,171
Massachusetts -----	}	265	{ 248 137 }	472	{ 137 67 }	242	{ 311 109 }	213	{ 309 129 }
Other states -----									
Ireland -----		88	89	67	192	189	507	154	179
British Amer. -----		54	94	189	34	28	69	32	82
England -----		12	25	47	13	12	51	39	46
Scotland -----		6	8	20	13	3	26	23	80
Germany -----		21	17	11	-----	16	41	128	236
Italy -----		2	-----	3	14	2	33	6	53
Sweden -----		9	12	18	5	2	4	1	3
Portugal -----		-----	1	-----	4	-----	1	-----	-----
Russia -----		-----	6	-----	-----	14	-----	-----	9

Nationality	Peddlers		Servants in Families		Boarding and Livery		Water Transporta- tion							
	Year	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885					
Total	-----	847	1,147	14,026	1,216	530	1,258	2,106	1,273					
Massachusetts	{	373	{	248	{	229	{	181	{	305	{	880	{	372
Other states														
Ireland	-----	291	258	7,595	472	307	614	306	168					
British-Amer.	-----	27	18	1,546	77	21	77	168	192					
England	-----	50	40	343	94	9	26	232	58					
Scotland	-----	2	3	127	28	6	8	39	22					
Germany	-----	58	91	179	13	5	15	75	14					
Italy	-----	10	-----	14	-----	-----	-----	21	-----					
Sweden	-----	1	-----	55	15	-----	1	165	50					
Portugal	-----	-----	-----	-----	4	-----	-----	-----	37					
Russia	-----	-----	282	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----					

Nationality	Build- ing Trades		Printers		Cabinet and Furniture Makers		Tailors		Bankers, Brokers, Real est., etc.		
Year	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885	
Total	----	975	2,066	1,568	2,216	1,394	2,267	6,074	2,292	644	2,315
Mass.	--	483	{ 1,011 268 }	1,134	{ 1,114 459 }	794	{ 923 264 }	3,094	{ 492 238 }	612	{ 1,246 649 }
Other sts.	----	281	397	211	160	163	206	1,723	619	7	124
Ireland	----	85	168	119	203	113	231	675	112	6	84
Brit. Amer.	----	76	122	53	99	48	117	154	107	8	82
England	----	29	49	14	32	18	32	59	46	1	15
Scotland	----	6	14	39	53	151	191	209	294	9	41
Germany	----	7	-----	-----	-----	7	47	10	61	1	-----
Italy	----	1	1	-----	11	50	90	16	42	-----	3
Sweden	----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	75	-----	8	-----	1
Portugal	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	4	-----	113	-----	-----
Russia	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Nationality	Painters		Personal Service		Messen- gers and Porters		Board- ing and Lodgings		Masons and Stone- workers	
	Year	1870	1885	1870	1885	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885
Total	-----	1,983	2,366	662	2,819	2,648	1,461	2,708	2,026	3,022
Mass.	-----	1,251	{ 1,035 412 }	425	{ 1,327 730 }	1,167	884	{ 701 1,026 }	960	{ 629 342 }
Other sts.	-----	360	287	47	674	358	273	461	814	1,470
Ireland	-----	112	267	33	244	141	67	179	90	130
Brit. Amer.	-----	98	120	16	145	76	47	145	63	140
England	-----	23	41	1	39	17	10	26	20	52
Scotland	-----	93	78	70	200	13	137	150	59	70
Germany	-----	6	26	26	165	-----	3	38	10	227
Italy	-----	21	45	3	30	11	9	25	1	11
Sweden	-----	-----	5	-----	62	2	-----	12	-----	3
Portugal	-----	-----	-----	-----	7	-----	-----	9	-----	50
Russia	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Nationality	Government Transportation		City Transportation		Railroad Transportation		Professional	
	Year	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870
Total -----	1,520	3,847	617	3,854	800	3,918	2,338	4,266
Mass. -----	1,282	{ 1,964 951 }	549	{ 1,783 980 }	648	{ 1,137 1,029 }	2,014	{ 1,655 1,637 }
Other sts. -----								
Ireland -----	153	579	37	640	109	1,036	109	1,111
British Amer. -----	12	119	21	309	22	192	59	158
England -----	17	72	2	74	10	89	34	169
Scotland -----	15	14	2	12	6	30	11	33
Germany -----	36	58	6	17	2	22	54	212
Italy -----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	13	98
Sweden -----	-----	14	-----	2	2	19	3	15
Portugal -----	-----	4	-----	2	-----	1	-----	7
Russia -----	-----	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Nationality	Teamsters		Carpenters and Wood Workers		Metal Workers		Merchants and Dealers		
	Year	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885	1870	1885
Total	-----	2,744	4,786	4,633	5,887	3,862	6,754	7,534	8,526
Mass.	-----	{ 1,672	2,100	{ 2,545	1,322	{ 2,065	2,363	{ 5,833	3,658
Other sts.	-----		880		1,220		1,042		1,911
Ireland	-----	813	1,129	771	795	913	1,434	1,011	1,314
British Amer.	-----	131	428	974	1,653	344	694	161	341
England	-----	52	91	118	232	226	423	164	51
Scotland	-----	8	21	55	122	198	168	40	61
Germany	-----	40	56	110	168	156	247	204	425
Italy	-----	---	15	3	38	423	61	28	415
Sweden	-----	1	5	18	59	---	136	10	16
Portugal	-----	---	3	---	26	---	15	---	26
Russia	-----	---	---	---	11	---	---	---	98

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Manufacturing Employees</i>		<i>Laborers</i>		<i>Clerks, Bookkeep- ers, Stenogra- phers, Salesmen</i>	
<i>Year</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1885</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1885</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1885</i>
<i>Total</i> -----	4,101	8,866	13,332	11,027	8,615	14,489
Massachusetts -----	} 1,198 {	2,850	} 2,226 {	1,890	} 7,473 {	8,525
Other states -----		1,136		541		3,357
Ireland -----	1,209	2,180	4,920	7,221	385	647
British Amer. ....	264	660	386	458	368	918
England -----	132	426	236	256	174	381
Scotland -----	45	125	79	59	82	156
Germany -----	346	872	251	143	86	175
Italy -----	1	205	59	512	5	48
Sweden -----	17	134	45	51	6	26
Portugal -----	-----	39	-----	72	-----	-----
Russia -----	-----	82	-----	39	-----	7

number of Americans—and this means, of course, a much larger proportion—comes from outside of Massachusetts as from within it. The larger proportion of the physicians, clergymen, and preachers of the city are natives of states other than Massachusetts. The only professional line in which foreigners are strong is that of music. More of Boston's musicians are foreign born than native born. Germany furnishes the greater number, though the majority of the Italian professional men are musicians. Italian street musicians, to be sure, do not represent a high grade of professional life, but there is a goodly number of high grade musicians and music teachers among the Italians.

A somewhat different situation holds with the commercial classes. Bankers and brokers, like the classes just considered, are predominantly American. Among the foreign born only the English show a percentage in this line above the average. In the large class of clerks, bookkeepers, and salesmen, however, the British Americans take a prominent part, though the Americans and especially natives of Massachusetts are the best represented in proportion to their total numbers. In the class of merchants and dealers, however, natives of Massachusetts are considerably below the average. Americans born outside of Massachusetts play a much larger part in the mercantile life of the city in proportion to their numbers than do natives of Massachusetts. The Jewish propensity for trade shows itself in the large numbers of Germans and Russians in this class. The Italians, however, go far beyond the Jews in the number of small dealers and tradesmen, since more than half are fruit dealers. The Italians cannot show a very large proportion of dealers at the present time, for the merchant class is mostly Genoese, and the present immigrants are preponderantly Southern Italians.

One of the most important classes of skilled workmen is that of carpenters and woodworkers of various kinds. More British Americans in Boston belong to the carpenters' trade than to any other single occupation, and a larger number of Boston's carpenters come from British America than from any other country, except from the United States as a whole. Besides the British Americans, the Scotch, English, and Swedes have a larger number than the average in these trades. A comparatively small number of skilled workmen are to be found among the Irish. Only among the masons and the stone workers, railroad employees, and tailors

do they show large proportions. In the tailoring trade the Americans are poorly represented, while a considerable number of foreign nationalities have entered it. The Jews, both Russian and German, are, however, most noticeably prominent. The more skilled among the Italians are masons and stone workers, barbers, and bakers. Many Germans, also, are barbers and bakers, and a few skilled workers among the Portuguese are barbers and woodworkers.

We have already seen that the majority of Irish are unskilled. It appears, furthermore, from Table XIII that the Irish predominate in every branch of unskilled labor excepting water transportation. The British Americans, English, Scotch, and Swedes all enter this line of work. The Portuguese follow the water to a great extent, both as sailors and fishermen, though of late years they have been moving to suburban towns so that the proportion of Boston residents in this line of work is smaller than it was. The only class of unskilled labor in which the Americans enter very largely is that of teaming. Here the Americans and British Americans compete with the Irish. Much the same thing is true of other forms of city transportation, though these other forms present a higher grade of labor, as they include street car employees. The Russians take the lead in peddling, without serious opposition from other nationalities; although there were less than 1000 Russians in industrial pursuits, 282 peddlers out of 1177 were of that nationality. In 1885 the Irish and Germans also had more than their proportionate number of peddlers, but since then the Jews, Syrians, and Greeks have pretty well monopolized the business. Although there is a goodly number of English coachmen, the Irish supply most of the house servants and

coachmen, included under "servants in families." In manufacturing establishments American men are poorly represented, although, as we shall see later on, this is not the case with the women. With the possible exception of the British Americans, all foreign groups, especially the Italians and Swedes, are well represented in factory employment. Unskilled laborers are mostly Irish and Italian.

Turning now to the occupations of the women, the relative proportions of each nationality found in the three general classes of occupations, in so far as they were classified in the census returns, are presented in Table XIV. Table XI showed that less than 30 per

TABLE XIV.—OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES IN 1895 BY  
PLACE OF BIRTH.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Per Cent Mercantile and Professional</i>		<i>Per Cent Skilled</i>		<i>Per Cent Unskilled</i>	
<i>Total</i> .....	15	<i>Total</i> .....	26	<i>Total</i> .....	34
Italy.....	23	Portugal.....	75	Sweden.....	68
Other states.....	20	British America.....	34	Ireland.....	63
Massachusetts.....	20	Other states.....	31	Germany.....	50
Germany.....	15	England.....	28	Scotland.....	48
England.....	13	Scotland.....	27	British America.....	45
Scotland.....	13	Massachusetts.....	25	England.....	36
British America.....	9	Russia.....	25	Russia.....	25
Ireland.....	6	Sweden.....	21	Massachusetts.....	21
Russia.....	4	Germany.....	19	Italy.....	20
Sweden.....	4	Ireland.....	19	Other states.....	16
Portugal.....	1	Italy.....	15	Portugal.....	9

cent of all the women were engaged in gainful occupations, and that the percentage among the Germans, Russians, and Italians was still smaller. The smallest number—15 per cent—were following professional and mercantile pursuits. The order of nationalities for this class is much the same for the women as for the men, the chief difference being that the large number of Italian female merchants brings them to the front. The presence of domestic servants in the unskilled class

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the Massachusetts state census.

makes this the largest of the three. In this class the Swedes, Irish, Germans, Scotch, and British Americans take the lead. In the class of skilled laborers, numerous minor differences in the order for men and women occur; but none of them are very significant.

The minor changes may be seen best by turning to the occupations in detail in Table XV. The majority of those in government employment are engaged as nurses in public institutions, and hence they may be considered with the class of "nurses and hospital employees." Americans from outside of Massachusetts, British Americans, and Scotch enter these occupations in relatively large proportions. As clerks and sales-

TABLE XV.—DETAILED OCCUPATIONS BY PLACE OF BIRTH,  
FEMALES, 1885.

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Total in Gainful Occupat'ns</i>	<i>Errand Girls</i>	<i>Govern- ment</i>	<i>Composi- tors and Printers</i>	<i>Merchants and Dealers</i>
<i>Total</i> .....	60,306	371	423	516	551
Massachusetts ..	24,474	275	141	341	103
Other states ..	9,770	22	101	98	61
Ireland .....	13,444	29	92	10	247
British Amer. ....	7,560	24	62	39	37
England .....	1,480	12	8	12	29
Scotland .....	413	4	6	---	4
Germany .....	673	---	4	6	21
Sweden .....	448	---	---	1	---
Portugal .....	281	2	---	---	---
Italy .....	192	---	---	---	31
Russia .....	112	---	---	---	5

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>House- keepers</i>	<i>Nurses &amp; Hospital Employees</i>	<i>Clerks &amp; Book- keepers</i>	<i>Laun- dresses</i>	<i>Sales- women</i>
<i>Total</i> .....	903	1,342	2,048	2,159	2,185
Massachusetts ..	266	350	1,397	246	1,427
Other states ..	247	338	388	285	368
Ireland .....	198	263	41	1,294	95
British Amer. ....	119	225	138	172	167
England .....	24	50	27	41	53
Scotland .....	7	23	5	23	13
Germany .....	6	21	10	23	12
Sweden .....	8	9	2	24	3
Portugal .....	1	---	---	4	8
Italy .....	2	---	5	---	---
Russia .....	---	---	---	---	---

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Profes- sional</i>	<i>Boarding and Lodging</i>	<i>Manufac- turing Employees</i>	<i>Clothing makers, Milliners, Seamstr'ess</i>	<i>Domestic Servants</i>
<i>Total</i> .....	2,617	3,694	3,787	10,757	14,425
Massachusetts .....	1,544	915	2,524	4,657	2,119
Other states ..	751	786	281	1,981	1,029
Ireland .....	101	1,122	410	1,212	6,761
British Amer. .	93	573	248	1,823	2,959
England .....	29	107	140	280	342
Scotland .....	3	44	26	60	146
Germany .....	35	35	39	84	278
Sweden .....	6	18	11	68	271
Portugal .....	2	3	---	207	21
Italy .....	---	---	22	27	16
Russia .....	---	---	7	33	21

women Americans only are well represented. In the class of small dealers, however, only a small proportion of Americans is to be found, the Irish, Jews, and Italians being the best represented. In the more skilled lines of work, compositors and printers are almost exclusively American. The boarding and lodging house keepers are pretty well divided up, though Americans from rural districts, Irish, and British Americans are especially numerous. Immigrants from northern New England and from British America are becoming to a greater extent proprietors of the middle class lodging houses. In the department of makers of clothing and seamstresses, the large number of Portuguese is especially noticeable. Indeed, the majority of all Portuguese women are occupied in this line of work. Nearly all of them, however, are "pant makers," and are about the least skilled and poorest paid of all needlewomen. Americans from outside of Massachusetts, British Americans, English, and Russians also enter one department or another of this work. The Italians and Russians are makers of clothing of much the same grade as the Portuguese, while the Americans and British Americans are dress-makers and seamstresses of a more skilled type.



In unskilled lines of work the laundresses are mostly Irish. The Irish, Germans, and Swedes go into domestic service to a great extent, and the British Americans very commonly work in restaurants. On the other hand, natives of Massachusetts enter factories to a greater extent than do any of the other nationalities. The preference of American girls for the freer life in manufacturing establishments, in place of better paid domestic service, is well known.

A study of the occupations for 1870 will now show the more important changes which have taken place in the various occupations, and it will show also the increasing competition of different nationalities in the same lines of work. Of course the most important nationalities enter all the principal occupations to some extent, and to this extent competition is general. Still, as we have seen, there are national tendencies towards certain occupations; and the point of interest is the extent to which nationalities compete in their special lines of work. As the occupations for 1870 in Table XII are not given by sex, the table includes both sexes.

Certain general changes in industrial development between 1870 and 1895 may be first noted. The total number of persons engaged in gainful occupations rose from 41 per cent of the total population in 1870 to 48.2 per cent in 1885, and to 48.5 per cent in 1895. Probably increasing immigration, in bringing in a larger proportion of adults, would have the effect of increasing the total working population; but another influence would come from the increasing number of women entering industrial pursuits. Indeed, the increasing number of workers between 1885 and 1895 was wholly due to the growth of female labor. The proportion of women in gainful occupations rose from 29.57 per cent in 1885 to

30.12 per cent in 1895, and the proportion of men decreased slightly—from 68.67 per cent to 68.18 per cent for the same period. Furthermore, labor in 1885 was of a distinctively higher grade than it was in 1870. The professional and mercantile class increased from 20 to 23 per cent, and artisans and skilled laborers from 27 to 30 per cent, while unskilled laborers decreased from 37 to 27 per cent. The relative numbers of the different nationalities in the three grades of labor did not change very much in the fifteen years.<sup>1</sup> The position of the nationalities in professional and skilled lines of work remained substantially the same except that a larger proportion of skilled laborers came from Sweden than was formerly the case, and in unskilled work Germany showed a relatively larger number in 1885.

Some interesting points of particular nationalities in specified occupations may be noted from the figures for the periods given in Table XIII. In government employment the Americans had a greater monopoly in 1870 than in 1885. In professional lines the Americans have held first place all along, and there is comparatively little serious competition from other nationalities. German professional men increased rapidly between 1870 and 1885, but their work, as well as that of most foreign born professional men, is supplementary rather than competitive. In 1870 the competition of foreign merchants and dealers was not serious. Most of them were small dealers, either with a local trade or else with one of a different kind from that of the ordinary stores. More recently, however, British Americans and English have come into competition with Americans, especially with the young men from rural districts, for such positions as those of clerks and salesmen. As merchants

<sup>1</sup> See Table XII.

and dealers, also, natives of Massachusetts were not proportionately represented even in 1885. The Jews at first entered a line of trade which was before undeveloped; many performed a peculiar service in saving and redistributing goods which in the natural course of American extravagance would have been wasted. But as the Jews progressed and entered the more customary lines of trade, their competition with American merchants became more and more severe. The Italian fruit and other small dealers built up a trade of their own, but they are now being hard pressed by some of the smaller nationalities like the Armenians and the Greeks.

The most extensive competition among the nationalities seems to be among skilled artisans. In a number of occupations of this class, especially in the case of carpenters and other woodworkers, the British Americans, Scotch, English, and Swedes are in direct competition. In 1870 the Americans were well represented in nearly all these trades, but the increased demand for this kind of labor has been met by the foreign nationalities; the Americans have uniformly lost ground in the struggle, while the British Americans have been the chief gainers. These are the occupations which attract artisans from British America, England, and Scotland for the season, and consequently the retirement of the Americans is not very surprising. The competition of the British Americans in the building trades has had a serious effect upon the native workman. The British Americans who come to Boston for the season have no permanent interest in the city, and they are affected less than permanent residents by the American cost of living. They do not join trade unions to the same extent as do the permanent residents, and they are entirely willing to cut wages. The trade union standard for carpenters'

wages is \$2.50, but British Americans often work for less than \$2.00, as it is for their temporary advantage to work for what they can get. The result is that the carpenters' union in Boston is unable to raise its standard wage to that which exists outside the sphere of the British American invasion. In southern New York and in Pennsylvania carpenters' wages are \$3.00 to \$3.75 per day. The British Americans, however, control wages here less than they otherwise would, because they are not the most efficient workmen. English and Scotch artisans do not have the same effect upon wages as British Americans, because nearly all of them belong to unions in their native countries, and they are also among the most skilled workmen in their trades.

The evolution of the painters' and metal workers' trades has been much the same as that of the carpenters'. As compositors and printers the Americans have held their own, but it is largely due to the women engaged in this line of work. The competition of British Americans, English, and Scotch is on the increase even here. Italian, Russian, and Portuguese artisans frequently supply a more local demand, and consequently compete only indirectly with other nationalities.

In unskilled occupations Americans are less in evidence, in nearly every case the Irish holding first place, competing with the English, the Scotch, or some of the more recently immigrating nationalities. In 1870, however, Americans had more of a monopoly on the teaming business than they do at present, and they were more largely engaged in agricultural labor. Competition among newsboys has been strong in recent years. Irish boys, who formerly sold papers in good-natured rivalry in all parts of the city, have now been driven into the Irish districts by the fierce competition of Jewish boys,

who make the work all business. Even in unskilled employments there is often a division of labor which makes competition less severe than it otherwise would be. In unskilled labor, for example, the Italians are supplanting the Irish to a great extent; but the Italians are more generally employed in contract work,—work which may be done under the direction of a “boss,”—while labor which is more individualized as well as all city labor is performed by the Irish. With the exception of professional lines and of some of the commercial branches, therefore, there are now few occupations in which Americans hold undisputed supremacy.

It is advantageous also to consider the question of labor with reference to classified occupations. For such a classification the figures for place of birth may be obtained for 1870 and 1875, and figures for the totals for 1880 and 1895. A slight difference in classification for these periods should be noted. In 1870 and 1880 the whole industrial population was definitely classified in one way or another, and consequently the totals foot up to 100 per cent. In 1885 and in 1895 some were “not given” or “not classified,” so that the population classified is less than 100 per cent of the industrial population. Hence in comparing the different periods it must be remembered that the percentage in each class in 1885 and 1895 should be raised a little to make them comparable with the percentages for 1870 and 1880. The figures for 1870 also do not include Brighton, West Roxbury, or Charlestown; and these districts might somewhat alter the relative importance of the classes. It will be seen from the figures that the relative number of persons engaged in manufacturing enterprises has so decreased that in 1895 less than one-third of the in-

dustrial population, or only fifteen per cent of the total population, was engaged in production. During the same time the number of persons engaged in trade and transportation so increased that 28.7 per cent of the working population were engaged in the process of distribution. This is nearly as large a number as those engaged in production, and shows to what extent Boston is a trading center for the products of New England. In the state as a whole only about two-fifths as many persons were engaged in trade and transportation as in production. The increase in the branch of distribution, however, has been in the line of transportation rather than that of trade. Persons engaged in railway and city transportation have shown a very marked increase since 1870 and also since 1885. Water transportation only has shown no gain.

Centralization in trade is shown by the fact that merchants and dealers have increased less rapidly than the total population, notwithstanding the increase in the number of Italian and Jewish dealers, while the number of clerks and salesmen has increased more rapidly. The small class of bankers, agents, and brokers has increased even more rapidly than clerks and salesmen. Unskilled laborers have been classed by themselves, for at one time they may be engaged in production and at another in transportation or in personal service. In 1885 this class appeared particularly small because many unskilled laborers were placed in the class in which they happened to be at the time. However, with the decrease in Irish immigration, the relative importance of this class has diminished. As unskilled laborers find employment, they become somewhat specialized.

These three classes just considered are for the most part engaged in production and distribution, but at least

one-fourth of the total number engaged in gainful occupations is not so included. These are engaged in serving individuals or the collective body, and their numbers have been slowly increasing. The government has demanded an increasing number of workers in proportion to the size of the aggregate, until in 1895 2.8 per cent of the total working population was in governmental employ. A similar increase is noticeable in professional lines. In 1870 this class included 2.2 per cent, and in 1895 4.6 per cent of the total number engaged in gainful pursuits. Spencer considers the function of the professional classes to be the augmentation of life, and an increase in the number of professional men ought certainly to make life richer because of increased intellectual activities. There is always the danger, however, that excessive development in any non-productive line will result in a drain on the social system. Since 1885 an increase relatively larger than that of the total population has taken place in every branch of professional life; but the gain has been especially marked in amusements, in literature, and in science. Artists, lawyers, musicians, and teachers have increased least rapidly. The value of those departments which have developed most rapidly depends very largely, of course, on the quality of the work. On the whole, it must be admitted, they do not represent the highest in professional life.

The largest class of workers not engaged directly in production or distribution is that of personal and domestic service. As division of labor in the industrial world extends and as wealth increases, it is to be expected that there will be a demand for a larger proportion of the industrial population to minister to the needs of the wealthy classes. In domestic service this increase

has not taken place, but in every other form of personal service there has been a marked increase since 1870. A number of explanations may be given for the decreased proportion of domestic servants. First, the proportion of domestic servants in Charlestown is smaller than that in the rest of the city, and its annexation, therefore, would tend to lower the average somewhat. Secondly, the number of families, or at least the number of families keeping house, has probably diminished relatively in that part of the population which hires servants. This cannot be shown statistically except for the fact that the boarding and lodging facilities have grown more rapidly than the population. If fewer marriages actually take place among the well-to-do, it cuts off the demand for domestic servants both by lessening the number of independent homes and also by leaving a larger number of women to help in the house work in the homes of their parents. Thirdly, in 1870, when the Irish were immigrating so rapidly, it is probable that the supply of servants was much greater in proportion to the demand than at present. For some reason the number of domestic servants seems to have been particularly large in 1870. This class engaged in domestic and personal service, forming in 1895 18.8 per cent of all those engaged in gainful occupations, is certainly large enough to have an influence on the distribution of wealth. The tendency of the various nationalities to enter these five classes of occupations may be seen from the figures for 1870 and 1885.

In productive enterprises the Portuguese head the list because of the large number of Portuguese seamstresses. The Germans, Swedes, and Scotch also show large percentages in this class, but the Americans and Irish have the smallest numbers. The largest gains in this line of



work were made by the Swedes and the Italians. In the department of trade and transportation, the large number of Jewish dealers brings the Russians to the head of the list. The Americans, both the natives of Massachusetts and of other states, come next, and this is the real line of American predominance. The Swedes and the Portuguese, who were well represented in productive pursuits, have the fewest representatives of all nationalities in trade and transportation. The Irish are represented only slightly in this line as well as in that of production. The proportion of Russians, Germans, British Americans, and Irish in the line of trade and transportation has increased somewhat since 1870; all other nationalities, including the Americans, are decreasing. Nearly all unskilled laborers are Italians or Irish, the proportion of Italians increasing and the Irish decreasing. All other nationalities have comparatively few representatives in this line, the Americans having the fewest of all. Governmental and professional employments have already been considered, though Table XVI gives a convenient method of comparison by percentages. In personal and domestic service the Irish and the Swedes have the largest proportion, the Swedes having increased very rapidly since 1870. The British Americans are also well represented, and the proportion of the Scotch is increasing. The Russians, natives of Massachusetts, and the Italians enter this line of work only to a limited extent. The large percentage of Americans from "other states" engaged in personal service is due to the influence of the Negro element.

The results of the statistics on occupations may now be briefly summarized. A comparatively small proportion of the native born are engaged in gainful occupations. Those who are so engaged tend to enter govern-

TABLE XVI.—CLASSIFIED OCCUPATIONS BY PLACE OF BIRTH,  
1870 AND 1885.

(1870)													
<i>Government</i>		<i>Profes- sional</i>		<i>Personal and Domestic Service</i>		<i>Trade and Transpor- tation</i>		<i>Produc- tion</i>		<i>Laborers</i>			
<i>Total</i>	1.5	-----	2.2	-----	19.5	-----	25.3	-----	38.4	-----	12.9		
U. S.	2.3	Italy	4.3	Ire.	28.1	U. S.	34.9	Ger.	56.2	Ire.	31.3		
Scot.	1.5	U. S.	3.5	B. A.	25.8	Swed.	34.0	Scot.	55.6	Italy	19.5		
Ger.	1.1	Ger.	1.7	Italy	21.8	Eng.	24.0	B. A.	53.6	Scot.	8.1		
Eng.	.5	Scot.	1.1	Eng.	16.6	Italy	22.5	Eng.	50.1	Swed.	8.0		
Ire.	.5	Eng.	1.0	Ger.	16.2	Scot.	20.0	Swed.	43.6	Ger.	7.9		
Brit. A.	.2	Br. A.	.8	U. S.	14.3	Ger.	16.7	U. S.	40.6	Eng.	7.6		
		Swed.	.5	Swed.	13.8	B. A.	14.0	Italy	30.8	B. A.	5.5		
		Ire.	.3	Scot.	13.5	Ire.	12.1	Ire.	27.6	U. S.	4.1		
(1885)													
<i>Total</i>	2.2	-----	3.6	-----	17.0	-----	25.4	-----	29.2	-----	5.8		
O.Sts.	3.1	O.Sts.	7.1	Ire.	29.4	Rus.	39.7	Port.	54.4	Italy	20.5		
Mass.	2.8	Ger.	4.8	Swed.	29.0	Mass.	32.2	Ger.	47.6	Ire.	17.9		
Ire.	1.6	Mass.	4.3	B. A.	27.0	O.Sts.	30.8	Swed.	46.5	Port.	9.4		
Eng.	1.3	Italy	3.9	Scot.	17.8	Italy	20.9	Scot.	45.5	Eng.	4.2		
Ger.	1.2	Eng.	3.2	Eng.	15.9	Eng.	20.5	B. A.	39.0	Swed.	3.7		
B.A.	1.0	Scot.	1.8	O.Sts.	14.7	Scot.	18.7	Eng.	38.8	Rus.	3.6		
Scot.	1.0	Swed.	1.5	Ger.	14.5	Ger.	17.6	Rus.	32.2	Scot.	3.0		
Swed.	1.0	B. A.	1.4	Port.	14.0	B. A.	17.3	Italy	31.4	Ger.	2.8		
Port.	0.5	Port.	1.1	Italy	8.8	Ire.	15.2	Mass.	27.3	B. A.	2.6		
Rus.	0.4	Ire.	0.6	Mass.	8.6	Port.	10.2	O.Sts.	24.7	Mass.	2.5		
		Rus.	----	Rus.	3.4	Swed.	9.9	Ire.	25.6	O.Sts.	1.6		

mental, professional, or mercantile pursuits, though a considerable number of Americans from rural districts belong to the artisan class. The incoming of foreigners has to a certain extent forced Americans from the lower into the higher grades of labor. On the other hand, the greatly increased division of labor having been coincident with immigration, immigrants have fitted into positions in the industrial world which did not before exist for American laborers. Increasing opportunities for labor in the industrial centers have been one of the causes of the migration of rural Americans to the cities. There are, however, many reasons for believing that migration to the large centers has now passed beyond the needs of normal industrial development. The keenness of competition in mercantile pursuits seems to be

one of the chief reasons for the failure of Americans to keep up their numbers by propagation.

The Irish from the first have been engaged very largely in unskilled labor and in domestic and personal service. The displacement of the Irish from these occupations by the incoming of other nationalities, however, has been somewhat more marked than in the case of the Americans. The immigration of the Italians especially has forced the Irish to pass from unskilled to more skilled employments; and in wholly unskilled work a differentiation has taken place and the more general work which may be done by "gangs" of workmen is performed by the Italians or, to some extent, by the Armenians and the Jews.

From England and Scotland we get skilled workmen of a high grade. This is principally true of the building trade, where they have held their place against competition from other immigrants. The British Americans enter much the same grade of occupations as the English and the Scotch, though a somewhat smaller percentage enter professional and commercial pursuits, and their skilled laborers are somewhat less efficient than those from the British Isles. A much larger proportion of women workers come from British America than from most other countries, and their work is largely in competition with that of American women. The temporary character of much of the immigration from British America, a condition which permits the immigrants to underbid permanent Boston residents, makes the competition much more serious and raises doubts as to the industrial value of the extensive immigration from that country.

The Swedes in point of numbers are comparatively

unimportant. A larger percentage of them than of any other nationality, however, belong to the artisan class. And although they are more permanent residents than the British Americans, their influence on competition is much the same.

The number of Germans in professional lines has increased, but in other lines the proportion of workers has changed comparatively little. Though the proportion of Germans in the different grades of labor is much the same as that of the English, they compete with English-speaking nationalities to a comparatively small extent. Few German women enter industrial life.

The Russian Jews are to a very large extent engaged in trade and in the manufacture of clothing, yet there are many more Jewish artisans and unskilled laborers than is commonly supposed. The competition of Jews is strong, whatever be their occupation, but the very severity of competition in their case leads them to see the advantages of combination. Consequently they are earnest advocates of socialism, and some of the trade unions are composed almost wholly of Jews.

With the Italians a division of occupations may be made according to the division of the race into northern and southern Italians. The northern Italians belong particularly to the professional and the mercantile classes, and the southern Italians are the unskilled laborers. Unskilled Italian laborers who work under the *padrone* system receive smaller wages than Irish laborers, and even then the majority are unemployed for the greater part of the year. Considering here only the economic conditions, it may be said that the present immigration of southern Italians brings a large superfluous population of hot-headed men who are fit only for unskilled labor, and the presence of these men has

reacted on the Irish, making their employment less steady.<sup>1</sup>

The few Portuguese in the city affect the skilled trades comparatively little. There are many Portuguese barbers, a few artisans, and among the women a large number of seamstresses. The work of the Portuguese is not of a very high grade, and they do not seriously compete with other nationalities.

It may be said, therefore, that the Americans, British Americans, English, Scotch, and Swedes enter much the same lines of employment. The rural Americans, more particularly those from northern New England, the British Americans, and the Swedes do not tend to form combinations, while artisans from the British Isles are the mainstay of the trade unions. The occupations of the Irish do not follow directly those of the above mentioned nationalities, but are of a rougher sort. The Italians tend to follow the occupations of the Irish. The Germans show about the same grade of skill as the English-speaking nationalities, though they differ from them considerably in detailed occupations. The Russians, on the other hand, have a narrower range of labor than most nationalities.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that some of the Italians maintain that during the busy summer season work is easily found for all, and therefore an excess of laborers does not exist. It should be remembered, however, that the busy season lasts for only a small part of the year. If there were fewer laborers, they might be employed for a larger part of the year.

## CHAPTER VI

### POVERTY

We will now study the relative number of undesirable elements in the various ethnic factors, using pauperism and crime as indices. Under the first head are included the dependent and semi-dependent classes. The most important statistics bearing upon pauperism are those from the almshouses. The figures in Table XVII give the number of persons by place of birth and by parent nativity residing in the almshouses during the winter of 1899-1900. There are two almshouses in the city of Boston: one, situated on Long Island, is for the ordinary city paupers; the other, located in Charlestown, is used exclusively for aged persons of both sexes. The former contained 616 residents and the latter 99, making a total of 715. This does not include all of Boston's paupers, as those who have not acquired a residence in Boston are sent to state institutions. The numbers and nationalities of these cannot be obtained. The percentages in the table are found by dividing the number of each nationality in the almshouses by the total number of that nationality residing in Boston in 1900.

The percentage of those in almshouses for the city as a whole is .127, and only the Irish and the Scotch show a higher ratio. Ireland is far ahead of any other nationality in the number of its paupers. The column for parent nativity also shows the same thing. Although the percentage is somewhat smaller reckoned according to parent nativity, the actual number is greater by 143, while the numbers for Great Britain, the United States, and British America are smaller by parent nativity than by place of birth. This shows

TABLE XVII.—PAUPERS IN THE CITY ALMSHOUSES BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND BY PARENT NATIVITY FOR THE YEAR 1899-1900.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Parent Nativity</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
<i>City (Total)</i> .....	328	387	715	.127			
Ireland .....	118	245	363	.517	Ireland .....	506	.323
Scotland.....	6	7	13	.290	Mixed.....	64	.215
England.....	1	12	13	.098	Great Britain ..	23	.097
United States ..	182	88	270	.074	Negro .....	6	.052
British Amer. ....	12	24	36	.071	United States....	61	.029
Negro .....	1	5	6	.052	Germany .....	6	.027
Germany .....	4	1	5	.047	Italy .....	4	.019
Italy .....	---	3	3	.022	Brit. America ..	9	.017
France .....	1	---	1	---	Sweden .....	1	---
Switzerland ..	1	---	1	---	Switzerland....	1	---
Wales .....	---	1	1	---	Holland .....	1	---
East Indies ..	---	1	1	---	Russia .....	1	---
Sweden .....	1	---	1	---	Finland .....	1	---
Finland .....	1	---	1	---	Unknown .....	31	---

that some of the paupers who were born in these countries are of Irish parentage. Others are of mixed parentage. Great Britain ranks next to Ireland in the proportion of paupers estimated both by place of birth and by parent nativity. Scotland, however, has a considerably larger proportion of paupers than England. According to this list the Negroes have a somewhat smaller proportion of paupers than the native whites, though the proportion reckoned by parent nativity is considerably larger. The small proportions of Germans and of Italians in the almshouses are noticeable, as is also the small number of British Americans reckoned by parent nativity. Perhaps the most noticeable thing, however, is the entire absence of Jews. One girl of Russian parentage was in the almshouse at this time, but it was not a case of pauperism, for she was taken there merely for hospital treatment.

<sup>1</sup> The table is arranged in the order of percentages for those nationalities only which have more than one representative. The figures in this table have never appeared in any of the reports of the pauper institutions. Access to the records was kindly given me by the pauper commissioners.

The sex of the paupers is of some interest. Forty-five per cent are males—a somewhat smaller proportion than the proportion of males in the city, which is 48 per cent. Although 42 per cent of the Irish inhabitants in the city are males, only 32 per cent of the Irish paupers are males. The males are in excess of the females in the Scotch population of the city, but in the almshouses the Scotch females predominate. Among the English in the city also the males slightly exceed the females, but twelve of the thirteen English paupers are females. Male paupers of native birth, and also those of German birth, exceed the females by a considerable margin, though in the native born population the females exceed the males. Thirty-three per cent of the British American paupers are males as against 41 per cent of the British American inhabitants of the city. The Negroes in the city are about equally divided as to sex, but only one of the 6 colored paupers is a male. All the Italian paupers are females, notwithstanding the fact that 60 per cent of the Italians in the city are males.

As a large number of paupers belonging more especially to the more recent immigrants are sent to state institutions, the proportions for the state are given in Table XVIII, in order to ascertain whether the small per-

TABLE XVIII.—PERCENTAGES OF PAUPERS FOR THE STATE, 1895,  
BY PLACE OF BIRTH.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
State .....	.33	Portugal .....	.34
Ireland .....	1.39	Holland .....	.33
Wales .....	1.30	United States .....	.33
Switzerland .....	.74	Norway .....	.31
Negroes .....	.62	British America .....	.24
Scotland .....	.51	Sweden .....	.20
Germany .....	.51	Italy .....	.16
England .....	.48	Russia and Poland .....	.16
France .....	.43		

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the reports of the state census for 1895.



centages for the Italians and the Jews are due to the fact that they have not obtained residence in the city. The percentages are obtained by dividing the number of paupers of each nationality as reported in the census of 1895 by the total number of each nationality in the state. The general order of the table, however, is similar for the leading nationalities to that in Table XVII. The Irish, Scotch, and English are still well up in the list, while the Swedes, Italians, and Jews are at the foot. The chief difference lies in the larger proportion of Negroes and of Germans and of the two less important nationalities, the French and the Swiss.

The almshouses, of course, contain the extreme type of paupers, those who, for a part of the year at least, are wholly dependent upon the city for their support. Besides these complete dependents, a large number of families are receiving assistance from one source or another, and statistics for a part of this relief work may be obtained. Some years ago the Associated Charities of Boston published in their annual reports the new cases by place of birth of the head of the family, and from these reports are compiled in Table XIX the averages for the three years 1889, 1890, and 1891, and the percentages are obtained by comparing them with the total numbers of the different nationalities in Boston in 1890.

TABLE XIX.—PROPORTIONS OF THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES  
APPEARING IN THE "NEW CASES" OF THE ASSOCIATED  
CHARITIES FOR THE YEARS 1889, 1890, 1891.

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
France and Belg.	27 $\frac{1}{3}$	2.45	Scot'd and Wales	19	.40
Spain and Port. _	13 $\frac{2}{3}$	1.39	Russia and Pol. _	19 $\frac{1}{3}$	.36
Negro -----	68	.83	British America	127	.33
Italy -----	30 $\frac{2}{3}$	.65	Germany -----	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	.30
Ireland -----	435 $\frac{1}{2}$	.61	Scandinavia ----	11	.25
England -----	63	.46	United States ---	309 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11

In considering the table, however, it is important to

bear in mind two things. First, these figures give only the cases dealt with for the first time during the years mentioned, and not all the cases dealt with. The table consequently favors the older nationalities, because with them a smaller proportion of the total number of cases dealt with would be new cases. Secondly, there is a difference between the degree of dependence of the families considered in this table and that of those considered in the previous tables. These families are only partially dependent, and in many cases only temporarily so, or they may be simply in need of the attention of some benevolent individual. Again, as the number of families is given instead of individuals, any comparison will have to be made on the supposition that the average size of the families is the same for each nationality. This, as we have already seen, is not true; but making some allowance for the larger families of the Italians and Jews, this table will give useful auxiliary figures.

Studying the table, then, in the light of these considerations, the French and the Portuguese take the lead. A large number among these nationalities—like the Portuguese needle women who get only \$2.00 or \$3.00 a week—are just struggling along, barely able to maintain themselves if given some outside help. Such families are most liable to become wards of the Associated Charities. The Negroes and the Italians come next on the list of the Associated Charities, although not a large number of either were found in the almshouses. After these come the older nationalities, the Irish and the British, who rank first on the list among the paupers. The Germans and Scandinavians are well toward the foot of the list, as they are in the table showing the number of paupers in the city almshouses. The poverty existing among the Jews is best indicated

by Table XIX. Although they are comparatively free from pauperism, a great deal of poverty is to be met with among them. Much of the Jewish relief work is simply assisting a man to start in business, though repeated relief is given in not a few instances.

Table XIX gives by no means an adequate idea of the number of families which are receiving charitable aid even through private agencies. Nearly all nationalities have charitable societies of their own, and other societies do not observe national distinctions. It is impossible to ascertain the amount of this charity from private sources which goes to different nationalities. And even the large amount of relief work done by the overseers of the poor cannot now be used in this connection, because the place of birth of the recipients of out-door relief from the overseers is not given at the present time. From 1864 to 1872, however, the number of cases relieved by the overseers was published by place of birth of recipients, and is of interest, not only because of the large number included, but because an opportunity is given of comparing the conditions of an earlier period with those of a later. The figures are the totals for the eight years, and the percentages are found by comparing them with the population for 1870. 7334 families were assisted, including 23,354 individuals.

TABLE XX.—PROPORTION OF THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES  
RECEIVING AID FROM THE OVERSEERS FOR THE YEARS  
1864-1872.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
England and Wales	339	5.56	France	13	2.11
Ireland	3,154	5.54	Germany	108	1.92
Scotland	88	4.90	United States	3,944	1.87
British America	481	3.48	Other countries	107	---

In the above table the number of the nationalities is, unfortunately, given by families and not by individ-

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the reports of the overseers of the poor.

uals, so that an allowance must be made for differences in the size of families among the different nationalities. Only those which at that time were most important are given in this table, but the general results for these are the same as in the preceding tables. The English show a somewhat higher percentage than in the preceding table, ranking slightly above the Irish; but it is probable that the Irish families were larger at that time than were those of any other nationality, and consequently if individuals were reported they would rank far ahead of the English. The general fact, however, that natives of the British Isles rank ahead of other nationalities is shown in this table as in those preceding. The Germans and the French show a very small percentage, although probably the German families included more individuals than the French.

A final set of figures concerning persons who are on the border line between paupers and criminals are those from the Wayfarer's Lodge, the city institution which provides lodging and breakfast in exchange for work. These figures are of no great significance. It is probable that many individuals find their way several times during the year to this institution, and the number who claim Boston as their home is not known. Comparing the averages for 1894, 1895, and 1896 with the males of the various nationalities in the city for 1895, the order is as follows:—

TABLE XXI.—PROPORTIONS OF THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES  
RECEIVED AT THE WAYFARER'S LODGE FOR THE AVERAGE  
OF THE YEARS 1894-95-96.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the reports of the overseers of the poor.

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Scotland .....	968	32.28	United States.....	12,458	7.97
England .....	2,046	29.82	Other countries ..	1,571	4.81
Ireland .....	7,761	25.52			
British America ...	1,248	11.29	Total .....	26,052	9.20

The Scotch are far ahead of other nationalities, and the percentage of the English and of the Irish is much larger than that for the total. The number of the Italians and of the Jews is so small as not to be given under a separate head. Although this is only one of many headquarters for tramps in the city, and by no means a popular one, owing to the work required of the lodgers, a sufficiently large number of cases are included to make it a rough index of the nationalities among the "hobo" fraternity.

An analysis of the causes of poverty was made some years ago by Professor Amos G. Warner from statistics gathered from a number of cities. Table XXII, taken from his book on charities, is of some assistance in throwing light upon that difficult question, although the nationalities selected do not represent Boston's popula-

TABLE XXII.—CAUSES OF POVERTY BY SELECTED NATIONALITIES.

<i>Causes</i>	<i>American</i>		<i>Colored</i>		<i>German</i>		<i>Irish</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Employment	137	21.37	24	17.39	12	20.33	107	16.41	414	19.95
Sickness----	163	25.38	63	45.65	14	23.72	151	23.15	543	26.16
Drink-----	141	21.96	11	7.97	9	15.25	217	33.28	475	22.89
Shiftlessness	48	7.47	6	4.34	9	15.25	29	4.44	142	6.84
Inefficiency }										
Other-----	153		34		15		149		501	
Total ----	642	30.93	138	6.65	59	2.84	652	31.42	2,075	

tion. The relative importance of the various causes of poverty differs in different cities. For the total number Boston shows a larger percentage under the heads of "drink" and "sickness" and a much smaller percentage for "matters of employment." The difference is probably due to the greater number of Irish in Boston's population. Among the Americans sickness is the chief cause of poverty, and "drink" and "matters of employment" come next in about the same proportions.

<sup>1</sup> Warner, *American charities*, pp. 49-50.

As compared with the percentage for the total, however, cases due to sickness and drink are slightly below the average, and those due to matters of employment and inefficiency slightly above it. Among the Negroes sickness is responsible for nearly half the cases, by far the largest percentage of any group due to this cause. A much larger percentage of the Negroes of Boston come under this head than is the case in the other cities given. Matters of employment are also above the average, but all the other causes are below the average for the whole number. Only a small number of cases are given for the Germans, but it should be noted that drink is a comparatively unimportant cause of poverty. Shiftlessness and inefficiency take a more important place with them than it does with other nationalities—contrary to the recognized qualities of the race. With the Irish drink is much the most important factor, and with them alone does it appear as the most important. It includes one-third of the cases. All the other causes are less important than they are in the totals.

According to this table, then, sickness is the most important cause with all but the Irish. Matters of employment is important with all the factors, but especially so with the Americans and the Germans. Drink is an important cause only with the Irish and the Americans. Shiftlessness and inefficiency is not a common cause of poverty with any nationality, but is most common with the Germans.

The foregoing statistics on poverty, although somewhat fragmentary, cannot fail to give some definite results. The tables for the almshouses are the most important, because, besides dealing with the more extreme forms of poverty, the averages are more accurate. A larger proportion of the Irish than of any other nation-

ality come to downright pauperism, and throughout the city probably as large a proportion of them as of any nationality would be found to belong to the class of the very poor, who from one source or another obtain outdoor relief during at least a portion of the year. Many of the Irish paupers are single persons, most frequently women, who come to this country when young, and who for years probably obtain fair employment but make small savings. As time passes employment becomes more difficult to obtain, and, having no one to care for them, these women find their final refuge in the almshouse. Irish families swell the ranks of the city poor for various reasons. It cannot be said that the ordinary Irishman is of a provident disposition; he lives in the present and worries comparatively little about the future. He is not extravagant in any particular way, but is wasteful in every way; it is his nature to drift when he ought to plan and economize. This disposition, combined with an ever-present tendency to drink too much, is liable to result in insecure employment and a small income. And to make matters worse, in families of this kind children are born with reckless regularity. So long as these children are wholly dependent, they are of course a burden upon their parents; but when children arrive at a wage-earning age, large families among the shiftless are better off than small families, because improvident families, if they had no children, would not save the amount which the rearing of the children costs. The high rate of mortality among Irish children, however, makes the economic burden heavier.

Next to the Irish come the Scotch and the English, the Scotch particularly having a large representation in the almshouses. All the figures go to show that we have received from Great Britain a considerable con-

tingent bordering on pauperism, and families in moderate circumstances have been obliged to seek assistance chiefly through misfortune and lack of employment. The British Charitable Society occasionally assists such families to return to their native land.

It would be difficult to give the exact order of pauperism among the other nationalities. The Negroes show a small number of paupers in the city institutions, though a larger proportion are in the state institutions, and a large proportion also get out-door relief. In addition to this, many Negro families not regularly assisted are very poor, women's wages very often determining their standard of living.

So far as almshouse pauperism is concerned, the British Americans and natives of the United States would rank even ahead of the Negroes, but there is less general poverty among them than among almost any other nationality. In the case of the United States, as might be supposed, the proportion of general poverty is less than it is with any of the other nationalities, because the native population includes a larger proportion of persons belonging to the wealthy class. From every population of any size there is sifted out after a time a good-for-nothing element,—a semi-criminal class,—and this class is shown in the native population by the large number of males of Boston birth who have found their way into the almshouses. Nearly all of these, it is true, are of foreign parentage; but a considerable number remain whose parents were born in the United States outside of Boston. This class consists largely of unattached males, some of whom spend their winters in the almshouse and others in penal institutions. They are affiliated with the tramp class noted in Table XXI.



Poverty among the Italians and the Jews is very different from that among the native population. Both these nationalities consist of recent immigrants, among whom hopeless pauperism has not risen. Families who need assistance in one way or another are, however, very numerous. It may be that work fails or is unremunerative and temporary assistance has to be given, or it may be that families distant from relatives and perhaps even from friends have to accept aid from charitable societies in case of sickness or other misfortune.

Among the Portuguese poverty is greater and more hopeless than it is among the Jews or the Italians, although there are no Portuguese in the almshouses. Few of the Portuguese are really well to do, while many are partially dependent because the labor of women, who are often obliged to support the family, is often too unremunerative to ensure their independence. Portuguese women who have shown their low moral sense by rearing a family of fatherless children exhibit their courage and industry by sewing early and late to gain a meagre living for their little ones.

The Germans and Scandinavians may be mentioned last. In the table of the almshouse paupers (Table XVII) as well as in all the other tables of persons receiving assistance—with the exception of the table for the state paupers (Table XVIII), in which the Germans are somewhat above the average—the small numbers of Germans and Scandinavians is noticeable. Occasionally, it is true, idle and shiftless families are found among both these peoples, but on the whole they are industrious and thrifty, and less hopeless poverty is found among them than among almost any of the other foreign immigrants.

It is interesting to compare the amount of dependence

which actually arises among the various nationalities with the condition of the immigrants as they arrive. The law naturally goes on the supposition that immigrants with the smallest resources will be most liable to become a public charge. The southern Italians and Jews, as we have seen, bring the smallest amount of money with them, and with both nationalities a comparatively large percentage is excluded on the ground that they are likely to become a public charge. Yet pauperism has hardly shown itself among either nationality. A considerable number, however, though by no means an exceptionally large number, apply for temporary aid. On the other hand, the English and the Scotch are as a class the most well-to-do of all immigrants, but a large contingent of dependents, both total and partial, are sifted out of both nationalities. The fact, however, that a large percentage of English and Scotch steerage passengers is debarred shows that the two classes of immigrants come from the British Isles, and probably a sufficiently large number of inferior immigrants obtain admission to make up their number of dependents. Irish immigrants have moderate resources and few are debarred, but perhaps on the whole they furnish the largest proportion of dependents of any nationality. Pauperism among the Irish seems to be connected somewhat with the disproportionately large number of female immigrants. This is less noticeable with the British Americans, for their women enter different occupations from the Irish immigrants, and if work fails them, they can more easily return to their homes. The small degree of pauperism among the Germans and Scandinavians shows the effect of their better financial condition.

No closer relationship exists between pauperism and illiteracy, as literacy generally accompanies a better financial condition. Nor does any relationship appear between pauperism and the rate of natural increase. In fact pauperism is in almost the reverse order to the rate of increase of the nationalities. The Germans, Swedes, Russians and Italians are increasing most rapidly. The wholly dependent do not as a class multiply rapidly.

## CHAPTER VII

### CRIME

We pass now from a study of the dependent classes to that of the delinquent classes. This will be a study of morality from the negative rather than from the positive side, as there is no exact measure of the moral plane of a social group. A basis for the facts may be found in statistics gathered from police reports and from reports of prisons and houses of correction. These statistics are much more complete and satisfactory than those on pauperism because the state reserves to itself the entire authority in dealing with crime, while innumerable societies and private individuals make spasmodic attacks on the problem of poverty, leaving the state to take care of only the uninteresting and the hopeless.

Police reports give the most general information concerning crime. The percentages in Table XXIII are obtained by comparing the averages for the years 1894, 1895, and 1896 with the population for 1895. The table represents the total number of accused persons, and hence the average would represent a smaller degree of crime than would the statistics for the penal institutions. The accuracy of the table is modified somewhat by the

TABLE XXIII.—AVERAGE NUMBER OF ARRESTS BY PLACE OF BIRTH FOR THE YEARS 1894, 1895, 1896.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Arrests</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Arrests</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
<i>City (Total)</i> ----	44,455	8.9	England-----	1,573	11.8
Portugal-----	45	3.7	Sweden-----	581	11.8
Germany-----	457	4.2	Italy-----	956	12.1
Russia-----	674	5.6	Scotland-----	658	14.0
Poland-----	90	7.3	Ireland-----	11,584	16.2
United States--	22,749	7.1	Norway-----	194	20.1
British America	3,601	8.1	China-----	525	65.1
France-----	115	11.6	Greece-----	348	325.2

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the police reports.

fact that many of the persons arrested are not residents of the city, but the numbers are sufficiently large to give a good basis for comparison.

The percentage for the total population is 8.9, and those nationalities which have a smaller average than this are the Portuguese, Germans, Russians, Poles, Americans, and British Americans; but only the Portuguese, the Germans, and the Jews have a smaller average than the native population. The Germans and the Jews are law-abiding people, but the small percentage of the Portuguese shows how little trouble they give to the authorities, rather than any high standard of morality on their part.

The French, the English, and the Swedes show about the same percentage of arrests, all being somewhat above the average. The Italians, Scotch, and Irish come next with a somewhat larger percentage. The Norwegians, though few in numbers, have a worse record than the Irish, the arrests amounting to 20 per cent of the total. Even this, however, cannot be compared with the astonishingly large number of arrests among the Chinese and the Greeks. With the former the arrests amount to 65 per cent of the total number, while the figures for the latter show that on the average every Greek in the city is arrested over three times in a year. Although persons familiar with criminal statistics will not be surprised at these figures, a word of explanation is needed. Neither nationality is made up of such abandoned criminals as the figures would seem to indicate, as the criminal records of both cease almost entirely at the police courts. The explanation is simple: the Greeks are nearly all peddlers, and many among them take the risk of peddling without a license, with the result that a wholesale arrest of peddlers takes place

until all have obtained their licenses. In the case of the Chinese the explanation is to be found in their love of gambling. A raid on Chinatown on a Saturday night is of common occurrence. Nearly always some gaming implements and a load of frightened Chinamen are captured. Whether the police are as assiduous in eradicating vice from all sections of the city as they are in prohibiting fan-tan in Chinatown statistical tables do not indicate. If the Chinese should fail habitually in the payment of their fines and have to be sent to the house of correction, the ardor for stamping out gambling in that particular quarter might be somewhat abated.

There are several reasons for using caution in making the number of arrests an index of vice. One of the great problems in the treatment of crime arises from the fact that the agents of the law do not, for one reason or another, bring the law to bear equally on every member of society. Allowance has to be made first for the "personal equation" of officers; all officers do not see crime with the same degree of accuracy, either because of differences in judgment, or because of the action of various external influences. In the second place, the amount of room in penal institutions reacts upon the number of arrests made in the city. If the penal institutions are crowded, the police officers have to be less strict in enforcing the laws. It is also unfortunate that some officers feel obliged to make an arrest once in so often, in order to keep up an appearance of activity. For several reasons, therefore, it will be seen that the law may be unequally applied at different times and in different districts. Yet Table XXIII includes a sufficient number of cases to give a rough index of the comparative number of suspected persons among the different nationalities.

More satisfactory results can be obtained from the statistics in Table XXIV of the inmates of the houses of correction at South Boston and at Deer Island. These figures give the relative amount of lighter offences among the different nationalities. Both males and females are sent to the houses of correction, the most common offences being assault and battery, larceny, drunkenness, idle and disorderly conduct, and vagrancy. The population of the house of correction at Deer Island is not given for 1895 by place of birth. The first statistics which can be obtained for both institutions are in 1897, and these are given in the table. The figures for a single year are given, but the percentages are substantially the same as for the average of the two years 1897 and 1898.

TABLE XXIV.—COMMITMENTS TO THE HOUSES OF CORRECTION  
FOR THE YEAR 1897, BY PLACE OF BIRTH.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
<i>City (Total)</i> -----	11,736	2.36	British America	1,066	2.41
Portugal -----	1	2.08	Sweden -----	135	2.76
Russia -----	32	}.35	Negroes -----	315	2.32
Poland -----	15		England -----	516	3.88
Germany -----	55	.50	Scotland -----	198	4.22
France -----	15	1.52	Norway -----	49	5.09
Italy -----	123	1.55	Ireland -----	3,691	5.15
United States -----	3,716	31.80	Wales -----	21	6.50

Comparing these figures with those for the arrests, a close resemblance may be observed. The numbers for the Germans and the Jews are next to the smallest on this list. For these lighter offenses the French and the Italians have a better record than in the previous table, both being below the average for the city. This forces the British Americans just above the average, although in both cases they come next to the native born. The

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the reports of the two Boston houses of correction.

<sup>2</sup> Only one Portuguese was in the house of correction in 1897, though three were committed in 1898.

<sup>3</sup> Massachusetts 1.67, other states 2.29.

order for the remainder conforms pretty closely to that in the table for arrests. The English and the Irish show a slightly larger proportion. The Irish have the largest proportion of any of the more important nationalities, and the majority are committed for drunkenness. The Welsh have a larger percentage even than the Irish, and the same thing was true for 1898. The Negroes are separated from the native whites in this table, and show a percentage considerably above the average, although, as will appear later on, this is a small proportion for the Negroes.

In order to get at crimes of a more serious nature it will be necessary to turn to state institutions. For this purpose the state prison, the reformatory for women, and the Massachusetts reformatory have been selected; and the number of persons committed to these institutions for the three years 1894, 1895, and 1896 are given in the following table. The proportions are found by comparing them with the inhabitants of the state rather than with those of the city.

TABLE XXV.—COMMITMENTS TO THE STATE PENAL INSTITUTIONS  
FOR THE THREE YEARS 1894, 1895, AND 1896,  
BY PLACE OF BIRTH.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
<i>State (Total)</i> -----	4,010	.12	Norway-----	5	.16
Portugal-----	5	.03	British America	394	.16
Sweden-----	14	.05	United States---	2,913	.17
Russia-----	26	.09	Scotland-----	47	.19
Germany-----	33	.11	England-----	161	.19
France-----	4	.11	Italy-----	36	.23
			Negroes <sup>2</sup> -----	120	.45

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the reports of the institutions.

<sup>2</sup> The figures for the Negroes are only approximate. Negroes are not given in the regular reports, and only the commitments to the state prison and the Concord reformatory for 1895 could be obtained. Forty Negroes were committed to these two institutions in 1895, and this is taken as the average for the commitments for the three years. As the few who were committed each year to the women's reformatory are left out of account, this average is doubtless too small rather than too large.



The order of nationalities in this table does not differ greatly from the preceding table, though the changes are significant. The Portuguese, Jews, and Germans have few representatives in either the state or the city institutions; but in this case they are joined by the Swedes, who have almost as small a proportion as the Portuguese. In this table the Irish show only about an average amount of crime, while the Italians are responsible for a larger amount of serious crime than any other nationality excepting the Negroes. The figures for the Negroes, though giving only a rough estimate of the amount of crime among them, are sufficiently accurate to show that a very much greater criminality exists among the Negroes than among any other racial group. The Americans and the British Americans hold a higher relative position in this table than in the preceding tables, the Americans showing the higher percentage of the two. The Scotch and the English, also, have higher relative percentages than in the preceding tables.

By omitting now the figures for the state prison, it is possible to study crime both by place of birth and by parent nativity, thus giving an idea of crime among the

TABLE XXVI.—COMMITMENTS TO THE MASSACHUSETTS REFORMATORY AND THE REFORMATORY FOR WOMEN FOR 1894, 1895, 1896, BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND BY PARENT NATIVITY.

<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Parentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
<i>State (Total)---</i>	<i>3,438</i>	<i>.10</i>			
Portugal -----	2	.02	Portugal -----	7	.03
Sweden -----	12	.04	Sweden -----	15	.04
France -----	2	.05	Italy -----	15	.07
Italy -----	10	.06	Russia and Pol.	26	.08
Russia and Pol.	24	.08	Germany -----	43	.08
Germany -----	26	.08	United States	757	.08
Norway -----	3	.09	Norway -----	4	.10
Ireland -----	290	.11	Scotland -----	36	.10
British America	346	.13	England -----	107	.10
United States	2,515	.15	British Amer.	380	.12
Scotland -----	42	.17	France -----	7	.14
England -----	143	.17	Ireland -----	1,265	.22

second generation. It happens that the order of nationalities by place of birth for the two institutions in Table XXVI is substantially the same as for the three institutions in the preceding table, with the exception that in omitting the state prison the percentage of Italians is greatly diminished, which shows that the serious crimes among the Italians are committed chiefly by adult males. France also shows a slightly diminished percentage.

What, now, are the significant changes in the order of nationalities when reckoned by parent nativity? The Portuguese, Swedes, Italians, Jews, and Germans still show small proportions of crime. The significant change lies in the marked increase of the Irish both in absolute and in relative numbers. In absolute numbers the increase was from 290 to 1265, and the relative position changed from the eighth to the twelfth place. The increased numbers were drawn from the Americans, the Scotch, and the English, all of whom show a smaller number of criminals reckoned by parent nativity than by place of birth. This leaves the proportion of crime for the Americans below the average, and that for the Scotch and English is relatively reduced. The increase in the percentage of the French is also considerable, but their small numbers make them less important. It should be noted that the British Americans show an increase in crime by parent nativity over that by place of birth, notwithstanding the fact that the increase in the Irish might be expected to draw upon them as well as the other English-speaking people. Consequently the British Americans have a higher percentage than the Scotch and the English.

A rough analysis of the forms of crime most prevalent among the various nationalities can be made for men in the state prison and for women in the reformatory for

women. The percentages are based on the number of commitments for three years, 1894, 1895, and 1896. Crimes are divided into three classes: crimes against the person, crimes against property, and crimes against public order; and they are arranged in a descending scale of seriousness, crimes against the person being the most serious.

TABLE XXVII.—CLASSIFIED OFFENCES FOR THE STATE PRISON BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1894, 1895, AND 1896.

<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Absolute No.</i>	<i>Per Cent against the Person</i>	<i>Per Cent against Property</i>	<i>Per Cent against Public Order</i>
<i>Total cases</i> ---	572	34.6	52.6	12.8
United States_	398	30.6	57.8	11.5
British Amer..	48	37.5	50.0	12.5
Ireland -----	43	56.0	32.5	11.5
Italy -----	26	76.9	7.7	15.4
England -----	18	16.7	61.1	22.2
Germany -----	7	0.0	85.7	14.3
Scotland -----	5	20.0	40.0	40.0

Of the total number sentenced to the state prison, a few more than one-half were convicted for crimes against property and a few more than one-third for crimes against the person. The Americans and the British Americans do not vary greatly from this average, although the Americans have a somewhat larger proportion against property, and the British Americans a somewhat larger proportion against the person. Of the Americans, natives of Massachusetts show a larger percentage of persons convicted for crimes against the person and a much smaller percentage convicted for crimes against public order than do the natives of other states. Comparatively few Irish are in the state prison, but more than half of them were convicted for crimes against the person. The record of the Italians is worse than this, however, for three-fourths of their number were sentenced for crimes against the person. The numerous assaults in the Italian quarter is all that makes the criminal record

of the Italians large. A smaller proportion were convicted for crimes against property than of any other nationality. On the other hand, the English and the Germans show much smaller proportions convicted for crimes against the person and larger proportions for crimes against property. Eighty-six per cent of the Germans were convicted for crimes against property, and none for crimes against the person. Only one Russian was sentenced to the state prison during the three years under consideration, and he was sentenced for an offense against property. The Scotch show an unusually large percentage of convicts under the head of public order, but the total number of Scotch is too small to draw any conclusion.

The number sentenced to the reformatory for women is larger, and hence the comparisons are more satisfactory. So few women are sentenced for crimes against the person that the first two classes of the previous table are combined; only 10.7 per cent of the whole number

TABLE XXVIII.—CLASSIFIED OFFENSES OF THE INMATES OF THE WOMEN'S REFORMATORY BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND BY PARENT NATIVITY, 1894-96.

<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Total Cases</i>	<i>Per Cent ag'st Person and Property</i>	<i>Per Cent against Chastity</i>	<i>Per Cent against Public Order</i>
<i>Total</i> -----	988	10.7	20.0	69.3
United States	581	12.3	22.2	65.5
British Amer.	123	10.6	19.5	69.9
Ireland	183	8.8	8.7	83.0
England	57	1.8	17.5	80.7
Scotland	21	4.9	33.3	61.8
Germany	7	14.2	57.2	28.6
<i>Parent Nativity</i>	<i>Total Cases</i>	<i>Per Cent ag'st Person and Property</i>	<i>Per Cent against Chastity</i>	<i>Per Cent against Public Order</i>
United States	136	22.8	31.6	45.6
British Amer.	91	25.6	29.6	64.8
Ireland	443	7.0	12.2	80.8
England	34	5.9	17.6	76.5
Scotland	15	6.7	33.3	60.0
Germany	7	14.2	14.2	71.5
Mixed	64	10.0	18.7	71.3

were sentenced for crimes against person or property. A new classification, crimes against chastity, is made, and includes 20 per cent of the total number of convicts. This leaves much the largest proportion, 69.3 per cent, sentenced for crimes against public order. In other words, a larger proportion of the women are convicted for what are technically less serious offences, but what are, nevertheless, just as demoralizing to the social well being. In this case a comparison of the nationalities can be made, reckoned by parent nativity as well as by place of birth.

As in the previous table, the United States and British America show percentages which are similar to the percentages for the total. Those for British America are almost identical, while those for the United States in the first two classes are somewhat larger than the average. Turning to parent nativity the differences are even more marked. The first two classes, comprising the more serious offences, have much larger percentages than are shown by the average. It is a fact that the native stock shows a greater propensity towards sexual immorality than do most of the immigrant races. Women from other parts of the United States who have migrated to Massachusetts show an even larger proportion belonging to this class than do natives of Massachusetts. Prisoners of British American parentage also show a much larger proportion sentenced for crimes of the second class than do most nationalities.

The noticeable thing in the case of the Irish is the large number sentenced for crimes against public order. Drunkenness and disorderly conduct cause the arrest of the majority of the Irish women. A very small proportion are sentenced for the more serious offences, and this is especially noticeable in the crimes against chastity.

This evil is somewhat more common among the second generation, as is evidenced by the figures for the parent nativity; but even here the proportion is much below the average. The proportions for the English are similar to those for the Irish, although a larger number belong to the second class. Very little difference obtains in the case of the parent nativity of the English. The first class is increased somewhat, but it is small in either case. The figures for Scotland are small, but they bear out the reputation of the country, for one-third, a larger proportion even than is the case with the Americans, belongs to the second class. And this proportion is not changed in the case of the parent nativity. As for the Germans, no definite conclusion can be drawn from the small number given in the table. The figures for place of birth make the second class the most important of all, but according to parent nativity it is very small.

The figures given seem to show that the Americans, British Americans, and Scotch are the most addicted to sexual immorality, and other sources of information tend to confirm this conclusion. Whether it is a race characteristic or is simply the result of immediate environment is not evident. Some occupations furnish a larger number of prostitutes than others. Housework and restaurant work furnish the largest. In an investigation made by the Massachusetts bureau of statistics in 1884, 60 out of the 170 prostitutes in Boston were reported as coming directly from housework, table work, or hotel work.<sup>1</sup> Now the nationalities mentioned above enter these occupations, or at least restaurant work, to a considerable extent; and they are the occupations

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Massachusetts bureau of statistics of labor, 1884, p. 124.

which tend to bring girls into the most direct contact with unprincipled men. Furthermore these nationalities most frequently live in lodging houses, and within the privacy of those walls the social evil flourishes. To be sure, in the freer life of the tenements there is not a little irregularity in the relation of the sexes. Innocence is certainly impossible among the children of tenements, and modesty is very often lost. Yet the tenements are homes of families, such as they are, and the family is usually the safeguard against this social evil. One of the many paths leading to unchastity lies in the dreariness of life in a lodging house. Girls whose homes are confined to single rooms must still have companions. Male acquaintances are easily made and are an agreeable relief to the monotony of life. But these girls, away from the influence of former friends, living in the midst of a great city, lose a certain social and moral support which ought normally to surround everyone. The result is sometimes that relationships are entered into that would not be tolerated in a normal environment. The number of prostitutes among shop girls and manufacturing employees is generally conceded to be small, but most girls in those employments live at home. According to the fourth report of the commissioner of labor, out of 1406 working women included in the investigation for Boston, 1109 lived at home.

The tables which have been presented throw considerable light upon the question of crime along racial lines, but a clear understanding of the situation requires that the tables be interpreted by other than statistical evidence. According to the tables the Portuguese might be said to have the least tendency towards criminality of any nationality. They are in truth a law-abiding nationality, but their standard of

morality is exceedingly low. The fact that the Portuguese keep pretty much to themselves makes the influence of their immorality less serious. The idea of family morality among them is almost primitive, resembling that of the Negroes of the South. Not only are elopements made and repaid in kind without involving further complications, but also what anthropologists call "sexual hospitality" is not unknown among the Portuguese. Of course sexual looseness is not a characteristic of all the Portuguese, but it applies to a sufficient number to make it a characteristic of the race. The Portuguese are not free from drunkenness and thieving, but these faults are more carefully concealed among them and fewer arrests result than would be the case with other nationalities. Many of the Portuguese men are idle and thriftless, and some of the women are suspected of having been public women in the Azore Islands from which they come. On the whole the figures for the Portuguese in the foregoing tables are misleading as regards the true moral qualities of that people.

Another nationality with a small criminal record is the Jews. And this is a much truer index of their standard of morality than is the record of the Portuguese. The Mosaic law has been ground into the natures of the Jews for so many years that now they seem by inheritance to possess a certain moral stamina which is little affected by unfavorable surroundings. The Jews do not commit serious assaults; the appropriations which they make of their neighbor's property ordinarily come within the limits of the law, and although they drink, they are not drunken. In fact as a class they are law-abiding, but not all by any means have a high standard of morality. In petty quarrels the Jews are a trial even



to the police. They trail up to the police station to make accusations against each other, with the most liberal offers of "witnesses, witnesses." But they are sent home with the astonishing lesson that the police do not always take business even when it is offered them.

The family life of the Jews is, on the whole, very wholesome. Unchastity among the women is rare, although it is not unknown. Strangely enough, however, desertion by the men is noticeably frequent among the Jews. The desertion of women with helpless infants is one of the causes of extreme want among the Jews. It must be admitted, also, that some of the younger men who are desirous of conforming to the gentile world are no longer living in the spirit of Moses' commands concerning the relation of the sexes. Faults in connection with business dealings which are most commonly considered to be Jewish are not easily touched by the law. In European countries methods of dealing which seem small and underhanded when judged by American standards are by no means confined to Jewish traders. Considering the long persecution of the Jews, which has made them feel that every man's hand is against them, it is not surprising that when a Jew acquires power he may sometimes prove a Shylock. These Jewish qualities need not be dwelt upon, however, because more than justice has been done them by the Gentile imagination. Expressions of gratitude and generosity are by no means lacking among the Jews, but these qualities are shown towards persons whom they trust, and a distinction is made between business and other relations.

The Germans in all the tables given show small percentages of criminals, and they are without doubt one of the most law-abiding nationalities in the city. Although few German women are sentenced to penal institutions,

they would not be counted among the most chaste of the various nationalities. The Jews included in the figures for the Germans may raise the average somewhat, though the gentile Germans might easily be ranked next to the Jews in point of public morality.

The records for the Americans and British Americans show about the same amount of crime, and that amount is not small. The proportion seldom falls much below the average, and it tends to increase with the more serious offences. If the parentage were considered instead of the place of birth, the percentage for the Americans would be considerably below that of the British Americans. It is noticeable that in every case persons born in other parts of the United States have a larger criminal record than those born in Boston. It is easy for loose characters to drift to a large city, and Boston gets a variety of types from the country towns. If the majority invigorate the life of the city, a few social renegades weaken the social structure.

If it were not for the well known serious crimes of the Italians, they might be ranked as one of the more law-abiding of the nationalities. Their record for the less serious offences is below the average, and few Italian women are arrested. The men drink a good deal and gamble for small amounts, but with the Italians drunkenness is much less frequent than with the Irish. Italian women are nearly all virtuous, and the girls are carefully guarded by their parents, for the single men living by themselves cannot be trusted. They enter to a considerable extent into the social immoralities of the North End, and women are not safe from insults on the streets, especially on Saturday nights, when laborers flock into the colony for Sunday recreation. Nevertheless crime would not be great in the North End if it

were not for the quick tempers of the men and their enforced idleness. Most of the Italians are not naturally vicious ; the conditions of their life are responsible for the greater part of their crime. The serious assaults arising from quarrels over cards or from sexual jealousies make the proportion sentenced to state's prison larger than that of any other nationality. Some of the more intelligent of the Italians realize the evil resulting from men who are forced to live away from their families, in crowded quarters, and forced to be idle a large part of the year, many of whom are even industrially superfluous to the welfare of the city.

Crime among the Irish is very different from that among the Italians. With the former misdemeanors are very prevalent, though serious crimes are not so common. Considering the number of arrests and the number of persons committed to the houses of correction, the proportion of Irish criminals is greater than that of any other of the more important nationalities. It is only in state's prison offences that the proportion is not exceptionally high. Not only is there more drunkenness among the Irish than among other nationalities, but drunkenness and crimes resulting directly therefrom constitute a large proportion of the Irish misdemeanors. There is a moral degradation among Irish families as a result of drink which is not found among other nationalities. And this brings with it a kind of immorality not serious in the eyes of the law, yet demoralizing to family life. For quarrels which are serious affairs, for flashes of anger which mean a knife thrust, one must go to the Italian quarters ; but for tin-pan and broom-handle bruises, for nocturnal disturbances of drunken men and women, for the unrelenting

bellow of brazen voices, there is no place like an Irish street. When one sees a man rolled down stairs by his wife and mother-in-law, armed with a tin dish and a rolling pin, the air thick with dust and expletives, we know that his name is Pat. Disturbances of this kind are atoned for, if at all, by a light fine or a short sentence in the house of correction. As the latter is not taken very seriously, however, it does not cause the culprit to lose caste with his associates; and its deterrent effect is, therefore, rather doubtful. The return of one of these wanderers who has been "taking a vacation at the seashore" is simply the occasion for another celebration. Misdemeanors of this kind are not confined to the male sex; women as well as men drink and quarrel and are sentenced to the reformatories in large numbers for offences against public order. Considering all offences combined, however, no larger proportion of Irish women is arrested than of women of other nationalities, because Irish women are particularly free from offences against chastity. Irish women of the second generation are not, however, to the same extent free from these offences; and when parent nativity is considered, the number of women arrested is far in excess of other nationalities.

Accurate statistics for crime among the Negroes could be obtained only for the houses of correction, and consequently a less exact estimate of the amount of crime among them can be made. The proportionate number of Negroes in the houses of correction is above the average, and the proportion for serious crimes is even higher. The proportion of Negro convicts for the state as given in the census of 1895 is .76 per cent, as compared with 23 per cent for the whites. The Italians with .44 per cent show the highest percentage of any nationality. This corresponds to the approximate number already given in

Table XXV for the state institutions. Mr. Work in his study of crime among the Negroes in Chicago<sup>1</sup> finds that with the exception of the Chinese, the Greeks, and the Mexicans, the number of Negro arrests is from two to eighteen times as great as it is among the various foreign groups. And in all the penal institutions a disproportionately large number of inmates were found to be Negroes. In Massachusetts the record for the state institutions shows a somewhat similar situation. Thieving and robbery are common vices among the Negroes, and their numerous quarrels sometimes end in serious assaults. They have a great fondness for gambling, and some of their club rooms in the South End, where whites and Negroes mingle, have been frequently raided by the police. The Negroes in general reveal the faults of an immature race, and in some ways they show the evil effects of slave conditions. These conditions are probably partly responsible for the looseness of the sexual relation among them. This evil is doubtless as extensive among the Negroes themselves as it is among other peoples, but the mixing of races makes it much more serious. The ordinary idea of irregularity between these races is that white men find mistresses among the colored women, but the relationships between colored men and white women is probably even more extensive. The chief desire of many colored men when they come North seems to be to obtain a white mistress, and some earn high enough wages to have two or three. Besides these peculiar forms of immorality, prostitution runs its course in the Negro quarters as it does in other districts. And in no part of the city are there more open solicitations or greater loss of self-respect among women than

<sup>1</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1900.

in some of the poorer Negro streets. The evil extends openly into the very precincts of family life.

Turning to the Scotch and the English, we find an unexpectedly large number of criminals. Both these nationalities are above the average in all the preceding tables, and in the most serious offences they show almost the highest proportions of all. Although not a few of these criminals are evidently of Irish parentage, even with these deducted there is still a high percentage. In the more serious offences the English show a higher rate than the Scotch. The high percentages of both in these cases is due partly to the large number of women criminals, for no other nationality show so large a proportion of women criminals as do the Scotch and the English.

A large number of Scandinavians also are arrested for petty offences, but these nationalities seem to be very free from the more serious crimes. In almost every case, however, the Norwegians show much less desirable qualities than the Swedes. Immorality among some of the less important nationalities like the Greeks, the Chinese, and the Welsh cannot fairly be estimated from the exceptionally large figures which appear in a single table. Aside from peculiar legal transactions already mentioned, which are by no means so serious in their effects as some forms of immorality, these nationalities are very law-abiding.

It will now be interesting to compare the amount of crime among the various ethnic factors with some of their other characteristics. The relationship between crime and illiteracy is often noted, the method usually being to show the large number of illiterates among the criminals. Such a method obviously does not show any causal relationship. The fact is that both crime and illit-

eracy are effects of the same causes. A glance at the table for illiteracy will suffice to show that there is little connection, in Boston at least, between the amount of crime and the amount of illiteracy among the ethnic groups. The Italians are among the most illiterate of all, and there is also a great deal of serious crime among them, though comparatively little of the less serious. On the other hand, the English and the Scotch have a large amount of serious criminality, though their standard of literacy is high. The Portuguese are comparatively law-abiding, though they, as well as the Negroes and the Irish, show a serious lack of æsthetic morality ; but the difference in literacy in these cases is very great. The Germans are very generally literate, and are also comparatively law-abiding. The Jews, on the other hand, though they are much less literate are just as law-abiding.

In certain places there seems to be a connection between the distribution of sexes and crime. In the case of the Italians the large excess of single men is one of the chief causes of serious offences, and increases greatly the minor misdemeanors. In the case of the British Americans, also, a large excess of women is accompanied by a large amount of immorality, although the excess of the Irish women does not have the same result, and immorality among the Americans cannot be traced directly to excess of females. American women from country districts, however, belong to the same industrial class as do the British Americans, and in the occupations which these two classes enter wages are undoubtedly too low for their social position. It may be said that inability to marry either from economic causes or from inequality of the sexes favors sexual immoralities.

Before leaving this consideration of the various forms of degeneracy, a brief presentation of the defective

classes may be given to supplement the tables for the dependent and delinquent classes. Table XXIX is compiled from statistics gathered by the Massachusetts census for 1895<sup>1</sup> giving the total number of defectives for the state, including persons having acute and chronic diseases, the maimed, lame, bed-ridden, paralytic, epileptic, insane, idiotic, deaf, dumb, deaf and dumb, blind, and those having other physical defects. These classes have been combined in Table XXIX and the percentages given by place of birth and by parent nativity. Of course physical defects, when not congenital, do not necessarily show degeneracy; but the figures include a great variety of defects, and taken altogether would indicate roughly inherited weakness.

TABLE XXIX.—PROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF DEFECTIVES AND OF INSANE IN THE STATE BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND BY PARENT NATIVITY, 1895.

<i>Place of Birth</i>			<i>Parent Nativity</i>				
<i>Defect- ives</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Insane</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Defect- ives</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Insane</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Irish-----	3.94	Irish-----	.71	Mass.-----	3.12	Irish-----	.40
Other sts. .	2.84	French ---	.46	Other sts. .	2.73	Negroes --	.33
French ---	2.24	Germans ..	.35	Negroes --	2.16	Mass. ....	.26
Negroes ---	2.16	Negroes --	.33	Irish-----	2.11	French ---	.26
Mass. ....	2.09	Other sts. .	.28	French ---	1.74	Scotch-----	.205
Scotch-----	1.91	English---	.27	English---	1.73	German --	.204
English --	1.89	Mass. ....	.25	Scotch-----	1.72	English---	.203
German --	1.85	Scotch-----	.20	German --	1.37	Other sts. .	.18
Norwegian	1.29	Norwegian	.19	Brit. Amer.	1.11	Brit. Amer.	.10
Brit. Amer.	1.04	Brit. Amer.	.17	Italians---	.54	Italians --	.05
Swedish --	.98	Swedish --	.15				
Portuguese	.97	Portuguese	.14				
Italians ---	.66	Rus. & Pol.	.11				
Rus. & Pol.	.48	Italians ---	.09				

It might be supposed that a larger proportion of defectives would be found in a stationary population than in a migratory one; but two foreign nationalities, the Irish and the French, show larger percentages than natives of Massachusetts, and Americans who have migrated to

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, pt. 3.



Massachusetts from other states show a larger percentage than natives of Massachusetts. The Negroes have a slightly larger percentage of defectives than the native white population. Aside from the Irish and French above mentioned, the Scotch and the English have the largest proportions of the foreign born, while the Italians and the Jews have the smallest. The Portuguese, Swedes, and British Americans have relatively small numbers among the defectives. The order of nationalities for the insane alone is about the same as that for all the defectives together, except that the Americans show a smaller and the Germans a larger comparative number.

Estimated according to parent nativity, natives of Massachusetts head the list, and the Irish and the French fall below the native population, showing that the second generation of these nationalities have fewer defectives than the native stock. With the insane alone, however, the Irish again come to the front, showing that insanity is exceptionally prevalent with the second as well as with the first generation of the Irish. Americans from other states fall well to the foot of the list. A large proportion of defectives for natives of Massachusetts is to be expected, and the proportion for the natives of other states seems to be raised on account of the large number of defectives from adjacent states who come to Boston for medical treatment. This is shown by the class of defectives among the natives from other states. The number having chronic diseases is especially large, as is also the number of the blind, and both these classes come chiefly from the New England states. In addition to the blind who would of their own accord come to Boston for treatment or for support, some states have special arrangements for sending their blind to the Perkins Institute to be educated. For such

classes as the epileptic, the insane, and the idiotic, who would be cared for ordinarily by their native states, the proportion for other states is not large. Small percentages for the British Americans and Italians might be expected, as pioneer and temporary immigrants would naturally be of good physique.

In comparing the various forms of degeneracy, an evident parallelism exists in the extent of the dependent, delinquent, and defective classes, and also in the rate of mortality. The Irish exemplify this parallelism in a remarkable degree. A racial weakness is shown, first, by an exceptionally high death rate, and secondly, by a large amount of pauperism and excess of misdemeanors resulting from a lack of stamina. To these failings may be added a larger proportion of defectives, especially of insane, than in any other group.

The Negroes probably have a larger dependent class than any other ethnic group, though the evidence in the case of pauperism is not so striking. The semi-dependent class among the Negroes is large; and although this might easily be attributed to other causes than degeneracy, the evidence from mortality and that from the delinquent and defective classes is overwhelming proof of the weakness of the Negro race.

That a considerable number of degenerates exists among the English and Scotch is evident from the criminal and pauper statistics. And although the death rate of these nationalities is not so significant, it is higher than that of most of the foreign nationalities. The proportion of defectives also is in most cases among the largest of any of the foreign groups.

The Germans and the Jews, on the other hand, show their racial vigor by their low rate of mortality and also by the small numbers of their paupers and

criminals. The Germans, however, have a large proportion of defectives, especially of the insane, but the Jews are as free from insanity as they are from crime.

The Americans and the British Americans hold a position about midway between the two extremes in all these characteristics excepting in the number of defectives. For reasons already given the number of defectives is comparatively large for the native population and small for the British Americans.

The Italians are responsible for a considerable amount of serious crime which shows the existence of individual anti-social tendencies, but the form of delinquency which indicates racial degeneracy has developed very little thus far. They have not as yet a large class of dependents and defectives. The high rate of infant mortality among the Italians, however, indicates small physical stability; and there is every reason to believe that the Italians, if allowed to continue their present mode of life, will develop a large number of delinquents and dependents and will form extensive permanent slums.

## CHAPTER VIII

### NATURALIZATION

From these personal characteristics of the various ethnic groups we pass to an inquiry concerning their assimilative tendencies. Under the head of naturalization I wish to say something, first, concerning the tendency of foreign nationalities to become American citizens, and secondly, concerning the exercise of the franchise. Although any foreigner can become naturalized after five years' residence, he can exercise the franchise in Massachusetts only provided he can read and write the English language. Naturalization and the use of the franchise in the United States do not necessarily signify a great amount of patriotism, and yet they are rough indications of the possibility of citizenship and the desire for it. To show the relative tendencies of the various nationalities to become naturalized, Table XXX has been prepared, showing the proportions of the most important nationalities who are not aliens. In 1900 those who had taken out their first papers were in-

TABLE XXX.—PROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF NATURALIZED FOREIGNERS BY PLACE OF BIRTH FOR 1885 AND 1900.

1885		1900	
<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Holland .....	68.57	Germany .....	85.20
Ireland .....	67.07	Holland .....	83.69
Germany .....	66.84	Ireland .....	83.22
Switzerland .....	62.50	Scotland .....	78.14
England .....	54.55	Switzerland .....	76.47
France .....	53.88	England .....	75.05
Scotland .....	50.30	Sweden .....	72.49
Canada (English) .....	46.91	Norway .....	72.17
Russia and Poland .....	46.30	France .....	71.93
Sweden .....	39.71	Austria .....	66.04
Canada (French) .....	39.33	Canada (English) .....	65.38
Norway .....	37.50	Russia and Poland .....	58.61
Austria .....	34.39	Canada (French) .....	57.67
Portugal .....	20.30	Portugal .....	50.26
Italy .....	16.48	Italy .....	36.41

cluded with the naturalized. This is one reason for the larger percentages throughout the column for 1900 as compared with those for 1885. The percentages are obtained by dividing the number of naturalized males by the total number of males of voting age.

Considering first the column for 1900, it will be seen that the Germans head the list and that the Dutch and the Irish are not far behind. The Scotch, Swiss, English, Scandinavians, and French all have moderately large proportions, while the more recently immigrating nationalities, excepting the Swedes, have the smallest proportions. Italy has much the smallest proportion of all. The chief differences between this order and that for 1885 are that in 1885 the Scandinavians were to be found with the other recently immigrating nationalities, and that in 1885 the Germans ranked slightly below the Dutch and the Irish, and the Scotch were below the French. The same group of nationalities heads the list in both cases. Of the more important nationalities it may be said that the Germans rank ahead of the English-speaking nationalities, who rank second, the Irish being well to the front and the Canadians being considerably below the British. The Scandinavians, at least within recent years, have tended to equal the British in the proportions of persons naturalized. Of the recent immigrants, the Jews make a much better showing than the Italians, who rank far below any other nationality.

Turning now to the question of the franchise itself, Table XXXI shows the proportion of voters for 1885 and 1896. The periods are only roughly comparable. In the column for 1885 the legal voters are given as reported in the nineteenth annual report of the Massachusetts bureau of labor, and the percentages are ob-

tained by dividing these figures by the number of males of the different nationalities as given in the census of 1885. Since similar figures have not been issued by the bureau for the year 1895, use has been made of the names on the voting lists for the year 1896, according to the reports of the board of election commissioners. These would include not all the legal voters but only those who took the trouble to register, and consequently this list indicates not merely the naturalization but the active interest taken in political life. The percentages are found by dividing the registered voters by the number of males as reported in the census for 1895.

TABLE XXXI.—RATIOS OF VOTERS TO MALES FOR 1895 AND 1896.

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>1885<sup>1</sup></i>		<i>Nationality</i>	<i>1896<sup>2</sup></i>	
	<i>Legal Voters</i>	<i>Per Ct of Males</i>		<i>Registered Voters</i>	<i>Per Ct of Males</i>
Holland .....	119	64.3	Ireland .....	14,787	48.6
Ireland .....	17,295	60.2	Germany .....	2,444	45.6
Germany .....	2,820	58.4	Switzerland .....	83	45.6
Switzerland .....	82	56.5	Holland .....	105	44.1
France .....	189	44.8	Norway .....	228	41.9
England .....	2,147	40.7	Austria .....	252	41.8
Scotland .....	691	40.1	England .....	2,550	37.1
British America ..	4,003	32.8	Scotland .....	871	35.3
Norway .....	79	31.8	Sweden .....	751	33.5
Sweden .....	311	31.4	British America ..	5,470	29.5
Russia .....	260	31.2	Russia .....	1,635	26.0
Austria .....	61	27.6	France .....	128	24.9
Portugal .....	85	16.1	Portugal .....	80	13.5
Italy .....	130	9.2	Italy .....	495	10.4

Considering the figures for 1896, it will be seen that of the more important nationalities the Irish and the Germans are far ahead in the interest which they take in political life. The English, Scotch, Swedes, and British Americans have a moderately large number of voters. The more recent immigrants show thus far a small percentage of voters, although there are many

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the nineteenth annual report of the Massachusetts bureau of statistics of labor.

<sup>2</sup> Compiled from the report of the board of election commissioners for 1896.

more among the Russian Jews than among the Portuguese and the Italians. Comparing this table with that for 1885, it will be seen that the chief changes are with the less important nationalities. In 1885 the Dutch had a larger percentage than any other nationality, while the French had a much larger percentage than they have at the present time. The Scandinavians and the Austrians, on the other hand, have made gains since 1885 in the numbers of their voters. And the Italians, although still at the foot of the list, show a larger percentage of citizens than in 1885.

These tables are presented because they represent the actual condition of affairs. But as five years' residence in this country and a knowledge of the English language are required for citizenship, it is evident that these tables are unfair towards the recent immigrants if conclusions are to be drawn from them as to the relative tendency of the different nationalities to exercise the franchise. A comparison between the voters in the city at any given time and the number of males in the city five years previous would be fairer to all nationalities. Accordingly an estimate<sup>1</sup> has been made of the number of males in the city in 1891 for each nationality. This is given in the second column of Table XXXII, and the proportions which the voters of 1896 bear to these numbers are given in the fifth column.

The order of nationalities in Table XXXII differs from that in the previous table less than might be ex-

<sup>1</sup>The figures for the Russians and the Italians are taken from the tenement house census of Boston for 1891, as the figures seem to indicate that practically all the Russians and Italians lived in rented tenements. The estimate for the other nationalities is not very exact, as males were not given in the census for 1890 by place of birth. An estimate is made, therefore, on the supposition that the proportion of males to the total population was the same for 1890 as for 1895. This would not be far out of the way for the nationalities estimated.

TABLE XXXII.—VOTERS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, ALLOWING FOR FIVE YEARS' RESIDENCE.

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Per Cent of Males, 1895</i>	<i>No. of Males, 1891</i>	<i>No. of Voters, 1896</i>	<i>Per Cent of Voters 1896 of Males 1891</i>
Holland -----	54.09	204	105	51.47
Ireland -----	42.48	30,360	14,787	48.75
Germany -----	53.18	5,568	2,644	47.48
Norway -----	56.60	498	228	45.78
Sweden -----	45.97	1,697	751	44.25
Switzerland ----	51.70	212	83	39.15
England -----	51.95	6,925	2,550	36.82
Scotland -----	52.53	2,380	871	36.60
British Amer.---	41.33	16,164	5,470	33.84
France -----	52.18	468	128	27.35
Portugal -----	48.80	3,466	80	17.16
Italy -----	60.07	3,700	495	13.37

pected. The changes to be noted are those for the Dutch, the Swedes, and the Russians. The Dutch here hold first place, having a much larger percentage than the Irish. The Russians and Swedes, who were increasing rapidly between 1890 and 1895, show a considerably larger percentage of voters according to this method of calculation, the Russians particularly showing a large difference. Here both rank ahead of the English and the Scotch. The Italians, who were increasing at the same time nearly as rapidly as the Jews, although they show a somewhat higher percentage in this table, do not leave their position at the foot of the list. The Swiss and the English show smaller percentages in this table than in the preceding one, as the numbers of both these nationalities decreased somewhat between 1890 and 1895. The Swiss show a relative decrease also, falling from third to sixth on the list. The order in the last half of the table is the same as that in the preceding table.

In so far as the actual possibilities for active citizenship are to be considered, the second qualification for the franchise—literacy as regards English—need not be



discussed. The nationalities, to be sure, do not start on an equal basis in this matter. The Englishman is qualified at the start, while the Portuguese is not, and possibly can never attain the qualification. Although the Portuguese perhaps cannot be blamed for this lack and may make just as good a citizen in every other respect, still, in so far as it is desirable to have citizens who possess the necessary qualifications, ignorance of English is an objection. In drawing comparisons allowance should evidently be made for the qualification of a specified period of residence, as this is a mere question of time. It may be objected that a knowledge of the English language is also a question of time, and should be treated in the same way as the time qualification. This is true with regard to a speaking knowledge of the language, but for a reading and writing knowledge, such as the law requires, it is true only to a limited extent. An adult immigrant who is illiterate as regards his own language will almost certainly never become literate as to English, and many who have a slight knowledge of their own language will never learn to read and write English. Those who are better educated and wish to learn English will require some time to do it. In most cases, however, the five years allowed in the previous table for residence would be sufficient to enable the immigrants to acquire a knowledge of English. The above table, therefore, is a fair presentation of the relative tendencies of the various nationalities to become active citizens.

It would be interesting, however, to ascertain the proportion of persons possessing the qualifications for the franchise who actually become voters, as that would  
    " more fairly the real interest shown by foreigners  
in political life. To bring out this point illiterates as

well as those who have been in this country less than five years should be deducted. The actual number of illiterate males in the several nationalities of Boston is not known, but there are two ways of calculating their numbers approximately, both of which will be used. The first method, used in Table XXXIII, is based on the percentage of illiterates among the total immigrants to this country as given in the immigration reports for 1900 and 1901. The first column corresponds to the percentage of illiterates given in Table V, at the beginning of this paper. The second column gives the number of males for 1891 with those deducted who were illiterate as to their own language, and the last column gives the percentage which this number is of the voters of 1896. This table is evidently in favor of the English-speaking immigrants, as not all non-English speaking foreigners who are literate as to their own language will learn English even after five years.

TABLE XXXIII.—VOTERS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, ALLOWING FOR FIVE YEARS' RESIDENCE AND FOR ILLITERACY.

<i>Nation- ality</i>	<i>Per Cent of Illiterates</i>	<i>Estimated Literate Males, 1891</i>	<i>Registered Voters, 1896</i>	<i>Per Cent of Voters 1896 of Literate Males, 1891</i>
Holland .....	6.48	191	105	54.97
Ireland .....	3.12	29,413	14,787	50.23
Germany .....	3.98	5,346	2,644	49.45
Hebrew .....	17.80	3,543	1,635	46.14
Scandinavia .....	.62	2,181	979	44.84
England .....	1.63	6,812	2,550	37.43
Scotland .....	1.35	2,348	871	37.09
Portugal .....	46.19	251	80	31.87
France .....	3.49	452	128	28.32
Italy .....	43.15	2,103	495	23.53

The difference in the order of nationalities between this table and the preceding one is slight. Notwithstanding the large percentages deducted for Italy and Portugal, the position of nationalities is essentially the same as in the preceding table, where no allowance was

made for illiteracy. Norway and Sweden have been combined in this table, and British America and Switzerland have been omitted. The only difference in order between this table and the previous one is that Portugal is now above instead of below France, and the Jews are ahead of the Scandinavians. The deduction of total illiterates is therefore of no special significance.

The second method of deducting illiterates is of more interest, as it includes all persons illiterate as to English. In the nineteenth report of the Massachusetts bureau of labor<sup>1</sup> the illiterate aliens for the state are given by place of birth. The percentage of illiterates to total males is calculated for 1885 and applied to the males for 1891, giving the rough estimate of the literate males for 1891 shown in the second column. The percentage of literate males of 1891 who became voters in 1896 is given in the last column. It will be noticed that the percentage of illiterates among the English-speaking immigrants was not the same in 1885 as it is among the immigrants at the present time,

TABLE XXXIV.—VOTERS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, ALLOWING FOR FIVE YEARS' RESIDENCE AND FOR ILLITERACY AS TO ENGLISH.

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Per Cent of Illiterate Males in State, 1885</i>	<i>Estimated Literate Males, 1891</i>	<i>Per Cent of Literate Males, 1891, Voters in 1896</i>
Sweden -----	29.54	1,196	62.03
Norway -----	20.76	395	57.72
Germany -----	15.97	4,678	56.52
Russia -----	32.06	2,929	55.82
Ireland -----	12.17	26,665	55.45
Holland -----	5.43	193	54.40
Switzerland -----	10.92	189	43.91
England -----	2.02	6,786	37.57
Scotland -----	1.04	2,355	36.98
Portugal -----	52.49	222	36.03
British America -----	3.19	15,649	34.95
France -----	17.26	388	32.98
Italy -----	57.85	1,560	31.73

<sup>1</sup> Nineteenth annual report of the Massachusetts bureau of statistics of labor, p. 216.

although the test of 1885 is more applicable to present voters than is the standard of recent immigrants.

This method of making illiteracy as to English the basis of comparison brings out a few significant changes, the most important of which are the large gains for Sweden, Norway, Germany, and Russia, which rank them above Ireland and Holland. British America takes a lower rank in this table than it did in the preceding table. The Portuguese, French, and Italians continue their small proportions of voters.

It must not be supposed that the percentages in the last table show the simple individual tendencies of immigrants to interest themselves in political life; the game of politics is not so simple. Nor is the interest of all naturalized immigrants exercising the franchise of the same intensity or even of the same kind; the franchise is used from a variety of motives. The Irish and the Germans on the whole make as good a showing in politics as any nationality. They lead all others in the absolute number of naturalized voters as well as in the proportionate number; and when allowances are made for legal requirements they show high, though not the highest, proportions. The Germans, however, lead in politics to a much less extent than the Irish. They use the franchise with apparent interest and intelligence, for they do not vote as a unit. Very few Germans, however, hold city appointments, and they do not seem to work for them. The Irish, on the other hand, are the great political organizers, and the rank and file of the Irish voters are the most easily organized of all nationalities. People work together when they ardently desire the same end. The politically organized Irish hope for some material recognition of services, and in fact the number of voters of Irish descent holding some

municipal position is equalled only by the number of unsatisfied aspirants for such positions. The desirable prizes range all the way from administrative offices to the driving of carts, and the possessor of any of them holds a social position distinctly superior to that of his comrade. The Irish are political organizers of other nationalities beside their own. Their most friendly intercourse with the more recently immigrating nationalities is brought about through political interest.

Though the Scandinavians cannot muster a very large number of voters, their relative position is high, as they are among the most intelligent immigrants. When allowance is made for those who have not learned the English language, the Scandinavians rank ahead of all other nationalities. English-speaking immigrants show a smaller interest in politics than might be expected, considering the similarity in institutions. At best they show only a medium sized percentage of voters; and when allowance is made for the illiteracy of non-English speaking immigrants, the relative strength of the English-speaking vote is still less. The proportion of British Americans entering into politics is smaller than that of the British, a result probably largely due to the less permanent character of that immigration. Among all English subjects excepting the Irish there is very commonly a strong dislike to giving up allegiance to the mother country. It seems to them like a descent in the political scale. Similarity of institutions between the two countries causes unwelcome comparisons which are not thought of between countries possessing dissimilar institutions.

Of the more recently immigrating nationalities, the Russian Jews make an excellent showing. If allowance is made for their illiteracy and for the short period of

their residence, the Jews rank among the leaders. This is one of the ways in which the Jews may conform without scruples of conscience, and they enjoy taking advantage of it. The progress of the Jews in this line is largely due to their own efforts. Non-partisan educational clubs are formed in which the duties of free citizenship are taught and the desirability of naturalization is urged upon all, much to the disgust of some of the local politicians, who see no object in naturalizing a man unless you can use him afterwards. Though the Jews take a good deal of interest in politics their idea of the end to be gained is narrow. Immediate business interests determine to a great extent their voting. They are forever demanding city ordinances granting this or that concession to their business interests, and their votes are cast for the candidate who promises to secure them. It is an indirect way of selling their votes to the highest bidder. The Jews are not wedded to any party or faction, and the handling of their vote is a strain on the sagacity of even an Irish politician. Voting independently even for selfish interests is, however, an advance over blind loyalty to a selfish leader. Voting for the general welfare is a position to which few naturalized voters can attain.

The Italians without doubt take the least interest in politics of any nationality. They are at the foot of the list by every mode of calculation. Even after deducting more than half of the total number of males on the single ground of illiteracy, they still show the smallest percentage of voters. Migration of single men helps to break up organized political work among the Italians, but the chief reason is that the Italians themselves have developed little interest in politics, and Irish politicians have no great influence over them. There are three

or four Italian political leaders in Boston, and one man of Italian parentage is a member of the city council. The leaders give the general direction to the Italian votes, the average Italian voter having little understanding of what he is doing. In national politics the Italians are apt to vote the Republican ticket, because, it is said, the word republican signifies something very dear to the Italian heart. This feeling may be best expressed in the words of a New York Italian: "There are two kinds of people that rule here, Republicans and Democrats. I went to a Republican meeting and the man said that the Republicans want a republic and the Democrats are against it. He said that Democrats are for a king whose name is Bryan and who is an Irishman. There are some good Irishmen; but many of them insult Italians. They call us 'dagoes.' So I will be a Republican. I like this country now and I don't see why we should have a king. Garibaldi didn't want a king, and he was the greatest man that ever lived."<sup>1</sup> In local matters, however, the situation at the North End of Boston requires him to vote for one or another leader in the Democratic party. Within the last few years naturalization has gone on rapidly among the Italians, and it is possible that they would now make a somewhat better relative showing than in 1896.

The Portuguese, owing to their long residence in the city, are somewhat more eligible for registration than the Italians; but owing to the small number of voters they have attracted little attention from political leaders. The Portuguese political sagacity is not above that of the Italian. The Negroes might also be mentioned here as showing a low stage of political development.

<sup>1</sup> Rocco Coresca, The biography of a boot-black, *Independent*, December 4, 1902.

Negroes do not organize readily, and individually they are not interested in politics. Consequently they do not work as a unit. If they could work together for a definite end it would increase their solidarity and raise their social standing. As it is, however, poor political material escapes use through lack of efficient leadership.

The figures show that northern Europeans enter politics much more freely than southern Europeans. It is possible that previous ideas of individual freedom and former political training help to strengthen political activity in this country, although the record of the Russians and the Germans, as against those of the British and the British Americans, seems to show that previous training has comparatively little influence in the matter. General intelligence seems to be a much more potent factor, though in addition to this it should be remembered that the formation of definite groups with common interests, though hindering social assimilation, increases the possibility of political manipulation. Of two nationalities of the same intelligence, the one which forms the more isolated group can be the better directed. Probably the dispersion of the British and the British Americans is one thing that makes their political activity less important. The political activity of an unassimilated group may therefore be greater than that of one in a more advanced state of assimilation, though the activity of the latter is more normal. Of those groups which are only slightly assimilated, it is fortunate that the least intelligent have the smallest influence in political life.



## CHAPTER IX

### INTERMARRIAGE

We come now to the final important inquiry in the question of assimilation of races—that of the intermixture of nationalities. Only through the intermingling of the various types can there be formed a homogeneous type which will make a definite step in progress. As isolation is the one condition under which a variation may be so preserved as to form a new type, so free association, which makes imitation possible, obliterates differences and tends to form a homogeneous whole. This homogeneity, or “social solidarity,” is necessary before any real benefit can be derived either from the increase in numbers which immigration gives to the mass of the population or from the useful qualities which foreign peoples may bring us. Variations are desirable, but they will spread only so far as the population is sufficiently homogeneous to imitate them. So long as a nationality remains a compact body isolated from others and unable to communicate with them, its attachment to the social body is merely mechanical and not organic. It influences our social life much as a foreign nation influences it. Individuals, it is true, may profit financially by the presence of cheap foreign laborers; but the permanent benefit to society lies in the assimilation of each ethnic element so that various dissimilar traits and characters will come into contact. And though at first the strongest will seem to survive, there is good reason to believe that in a growing society like our own in the long run the most useful traits will be adopted if they are not too soon destroyed. At any

rate, increased numbers, if united into a compact, healthy society, will bring greater probabilities of future progress.

To measure the assimilation of social factors and the resulting degree of homogeneity is a difficult task. Any estimate must be largely the result of the observation of different tendencies. The best statistical data for association is that of the intermarriage of nationalities. Association may take place where there is little or no intermarriage, but intermarriage signifies the beginning of a social intercourse more permanent than business association is likely to be. The only complete statistics for intermarriage are those which show the number of native born persons having mixed parentage, as given in the census of 1895. This is, of course, only a rough index to intermarriage. It probably includes the majority of marriages, though the number of births resulting from the different marriages would vary. So even with large numbers of births the exact proportion of marriages which have taken place may not be shown. The figures, however, certainly throw considerable light upon the subject.

The accompanying table gives the information in a form permitting a comparison of the nationalities. The first column of the table gives the actual number of births resulting from marriages between the different nationalities; the second column gives the number of nationalities with which marriages have been made; the third column shows the number of persons in the given nationality to each birth of mixed parentage. For example, there were 236 persons born of mixed parentage one of whose parents was Italian, and there were 7,900 Italians in the city. This makes one birth

TABLE XXXV.—PROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF INTERMARRIAGES  
AMONG THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES ACCORDING TO BIRTHS,  
1895.

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Number of Births</i>	<i>Number of Nationalities with whom Intermarried</i>	<i>Persons to Each Birth</i>
Italy .....	236	2	33.47
Russia .....	604	7	19.83
United States.....	39,502	18 <sup>1</sup>	8.01 <sup>2</sup>
Sweden .....	748	8	6.54
West Indies .....	47	1	6.13
Portugal .....	204	2	5.95
Poland .....	214	4	5.70
Norway .....	205	3	4.69
Austria .....	248	3	4.69
Denmark .....	189	4	3.08
Ireland.....	25,957	13	2.75
Spain .....	34	1	2.65
British America....	18,672	7	2.21
Germany .....	5,083	12	2.14
Canada (French) ..	918	5	2.00
Switzerland.....	195	2	1.80
Holland .....	327	4	1.34
Great Britain .....	13,901	10	1.32
France .....	995	6	.99

to every 33.47 Italians. It will be seen that there is a steady scale of descent from the more recently immigrating nationalities, the Italians and the Jews, who have intermarried comparatively little, to the French, among whom there are more persons born of mixed parentage than there are of French birth in the city. Of the more important nationalities, the British show the largest amount of association, the Germans next, and then the British Americans and the Irish. The Germans have intermarried with other nationalities to a remarkable extent considering the fact that they speak a foreign tongue; still a part of their intermarriages, as well as those of the Russians and the Poles, may be simply the marriage of Jews born in different countries. The English-speaking nationalities are apt to intermarry

<sup>1</sup> Massachusetts 17, other states 11.

<sup>2</sup> Massachusetts 9.09, other states 5.58.

more than others because they associate more readily with one another. Difference of language, however, is not always a barrier to marriage. Occasionally a man and woman will marry when neither understands the language of the other.

The number of nationalities with which each racial group has entered into marriage relations is of interest. Americans have intermarried with 18 other nationalities. This does not necessarily mean "old" Americans, for it includes cases in which the second generation of foreigners—that is, natives of foreign parentage—have married foreigners of the same nationality. After the Americans come the Irish, Germans, and British, who have intermarried with 13, 12, and 10 other nationalities respectively. The Italians and Portuguese have each formed alliances with only two other nationalities. The Russians have intermarried with 7 others, although, as has already been said, these are probably for the most part of the Jewish race.

The question of the nationalities with which the greatest number of alliances have been made can be readily seen from the following more elaborate table giving the proportionate number of births resulting from marriages with each of the nationalities with which alliances have been made. The figures are supposed to show those nationalities with which each nationality tends to intermarry most frequently. This, however, is difficult to do with accuracy, owing to the great difference in the size of the groups. It is evident that a very small group could intermarry quite generally with a large group like the Americans or Irish and still show a small percentage of marriages provided the numbers of both groups were considered in the comparison. The

only satisfactory method of estimating the relative amount of intermarriage is to make the smallest nationality in every case the basis. The number of the smallest group evidently forms the limit of intermarriage between any two groups. The table should be read therefore as follows: In the first case given there was one birth from mixed French and German parentage to every 4.2 persons of French birth, the French group being smaller than the German. The small figures, therefore, show the greater tendency towards intermarriage. The following list of nationalities arranged according to size will make it evident at a glance which nationality was used as the base: Massachusetts, Ireland, other states, British America, Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Canada (French), Poland, Portugal, Austria, France. The nationalities are arranged in the order of the relative amount of intermarriage with other nationalities. It will be found that nearly all the nationalities intermarry to a considerable extent with natives of Massachusetts, but intermarriage with natives of other states is a better indication of assimilation with the American stock.

TABLE XXXVI.—PROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF INTERMARRIAGES  
AMONG THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES, ACCORDING TO BIRTHS,  
1895, IN DETAIL.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the Massachusetts state census for 1895.

1.	2.	3.
<i>France</i> with	<i>Great Britain</i> with	<i>Canada (Fr.)</i> with
Germany ----- 4.2	Holland ----- 2.8	Massachusetts 6.4
Massachusetts 4.2	Massachusetts 4.5	Other states.. 7.3
Ireland ----- 5.2	Ireland ----- 4.5	Ireland ----- 12.3
Other states... 7.2	Other states.. 7.1	British Amer. 13.6
Great Britain.. 8.6	British Amer. 8.0	Great Britain 24.5
British Amer. 13.9	France ----- 8.6	France ----- 54.7
Canada (Fr.)--54.7	Canada (Fr.) 24.5	
	Germany ---- 28.4	
	Poland ----- 50.0	
	Sweden..... 61.9	
	Russia..... 121.0	

4.		5.		6.	
<i>Germany with</i>		<i>British America with</i>		<i>Ireland with</i>	
Switzerland	-- 2.5	Massachusetts	5.9	Great Britain	-- 4.5
France	----- 4.2	Great Britain	8.0	France	----- 5.2
Massachusetts	5.6	Ireland	9.3	Massachusetts	5.7
Austria	----- 7.5	Other states	10.0	British Amer.	-- 9.3
Holland	----- 9.5	Canada (Fr.)	13.6	Denmark	----- 10.6
Other states	----- 11.1	France	----- 13.9	Holland	----- 11.3
Poland	----- 12.7	Germany	----- 42.7	Canada (Fr.)	-- 12.3
Ireland	----- 19.0	Sweden	----- 113.7	Germany	----- 19.0
Denmark	----- 25.3			Other states	----- 19.2
Great Britain	----- 28.4			Norway	----- 21.8
British Amer.	----- 42.7			Portugal	----- 23.8
Russia	----- 55.3			Sweden	----- 25.4
Sweden	----- 63.5			Italy	----- 131.6
				Russia	----- 428.2
7.		8.		9.	
<i>Austria with</i>		<i>Poland with</i>		<i>Portugal with</i>	
Germany	---- 7.5	Germany	---- 12.7	Massachusetts	8.0
Russia	----- 20.8	Other states	28.4	Ireland	----- 23.8
Massachusetts	25.0	Massachusetts	40.7		
		Great Britain	50.9		
		Russia	----- 58.1		
10.		11.		12.	
<i>Sweden with</i>		<i>Massachusetts with</i>		<i>Other states with</i>	
Norway	----- 10.2	Spain	----- 2.6	Massachusetts	3.0
Other states	----- 13.6	Other states	3.2	West Indies	6.1
Denmark	----- 17.6	France	----- 4.2	Great Britain	7.1
Ireland	----- 25.4	Great Britain	4.5	France	----- 7.2
Massachusetts	27.0	Germany	5.6	Canada (Fr.)	7.3
Great Britain	61.9	Ireland	5.7	British Amer.	10.0
Germany	----- 63.5	British Amer.	5.9	Germany	----- 11.1
British Amer.	113.7	Switzerland	6.2	Sweden	----- 13.6
Russia	----- 212.6	Canada (Fr.)	6.4	Holland	----- 15.7
		Holland	----- 7.3	Ireland	----- 19.2
		Denmark	----- 7.4	Poland	----- 28.4
		Portugal	----- 8.0	Russia	----- 121.0
		Norway	----- 14.3		
		Austria	----- 25.0		
		Sweden	----- 27.0		
		Poland	----- 40.7		
		Italy	----- 44.9		
		Russia	----- 121.0		
13.		14.			
<i>Russia with</i>		<i>Italy with</i>			
Austria	----- 20.8	Massachusetts	44.9		
Germany	----- 55.3	Ireland	----- 131.6		
Poland	----- 58.1				
Great Britain	121.0				
Massachusetts	121.0				
Other states	----- 121.0				
Sweden	----- 212.6				
Ireland	----- 428.2				

The French have shown the greatest tendency to intermarry, and it has been most commonly with Ger-

mans and with natives of Massachusetts, although they have intermarried with Americans from other states than Massachusetts to a considerable extent, and also with the Irish and the British, and to a less extent with the English and French Canadians. The French have been in this country for a considerable time and are easily assimilated; they have intermarried to a considerable extent with the older nationalities, but little, if at all, with more recent immigrants.

Though it is well known that the English are exceedingly persistent in assimilating other nationalities, they seem to have shown an unexpected friendliness for the Dutch; but this large relative proportion represents small actual numbers. After the Dutch come the English-speaking nationalities—Americans, Irish, and British Americans. With non-English speaking nationalities aside from the French the British have formed comparatively few unions. The intermarriage of the English with both Poles and Russians indicates the presence of English Jews.

The French Canadians have intermarried mostly with the Americans; after that, as might be expected, with the Irish and with the English Canadians, and then to a less extent with the British and the French. The small number of alliances between the French and the French Canadians shows the small attraction between the two peoples, notwithstanding the similarity of tongue.

The Germans have intermarried extensively and with a large number of nationalities; their unions, however, with the Swiss, with natives of Massachusetts, with the Austrians, and with the Dutch may all show a similarity of race, and their unions with the Russians and the Poles are probably simply Jewish marriages. Never-

theless all these marriages show a tendency to extend the limits of association. The Germans have also married to a considerable extent with Americans outside of Massachusetts and with the Irish, and to a less extent with the Danes, British, British Americans, and Swedes.

The British Americans have followed almost exactly the same lines of association as immigrants from the mother country, except that they have not devoted their hearts to the assimilation of the Dutch.

The extent of Irish association is shown by their intermarriage with the more recently immigrating nationalities and also by intermarriage with a number of minor peoples—French, Danes, Dutch, Norwegians, and Portuguese. Of the more important nationalities, the Irish have intermarried to the greatest extent with the British, with natives of Massachusetts, and with the British Americans; then with the Germans and with the Americans outside of Massachusetts.

To what extent the Austrians and Poles have married outside the Jewish faith cannot be ascertained from the figures. The Germans, Russians, and natives of Massachusetts, with whom the Austrians have formed alliances, may all be Jews. The Poles have intermarried to some extent with Americans from outside of Massachusetts and with the British, but not all the Poles are Jews. The census figures show intermarriage of the Portuguese with only the native born and the Irish, but they have since formed a few unions with the Italians.

The Swedes have naturally intermarried freely with the Norwegians and the Danes, and also to a considerable extent with the Americans and the Irish. A moderate amount of association appears with the British and the



Germans, and an insignificant amount with the British Americans and the Russians.

Americans from outside of Massachusetts have naturally intermarried most freely with the natives of Massachusetts. Then come the West Indian Islanders, showing the intermarriage of the Negro element. Natives of states other than Massachusetts have intermarried to about the same relative degree with the British, French, and French Canadians, and next to them with the British Americans and the Germans. They have formed alliances with the Irish much less extensively, but with the Swedes more extensively than most foreigners.

Intermarriage between natives of Massachusetts and foreign groups is very different from that between other Americans and foreigners. The few marriages between the Spanish and the natives of Massachusetts make their proportion relatively the highest. After them come the marriages with Americans outside of Massachusetts. The rate of intermarriage with the French and Germans and with the English-speaking foreign born is high. The comparatively high rate of marriage with nearly all the foreign born must indicate marriage between the first and second generations of the same foreign group. The amount of intermarriage is smallest with those nationalities most recently immigrating.

The Russians have intermarried freely with nationalities distinctively Jewish—the Austrians, Germans, and Poles—and with the British and the Americans. Some of these marriages, however, as well as the marriages with the Swedes and the Irish doubtless show non-Jewish alliances.

The Italians have thus far formed few unions with persons outside their own race. Aside from the

marriages with natives of Massachusetts, those with the Irish have been most frequent.

Intermarriages of foreign groups depend upon the relative numbers of the sexes in each group as well as upon the amount of association. Men seek wives outside their national group when within it there is a scarcity of women. From the standpoint of a particular nationality immigrating to this country, men marry into other groups much sooner than women; that is, a nationality recently immigrating will begin to form marriage unions with the older nationalities from the initiative of the men of the newer nationality. In the case of five nationalities—the Italians, Poles, Portuguese, Spaniards, and West Indians—only men had married into other groups. No men from other groups had chosen wives out of these five groups; there are no cases in which the women have married into other groups when the men of their group have not made outside marriages. But in the case of the Americans, Irish, and British Americans, many more women than men have married into other groups; and these are the nationalities in which the women greatly exceed the men.

The normal course of the situation in this line seems to be that the older nationalities intermarry most with other groups without much regard to the language of the nationality. The Irish, however, are a slight exception here, as they are the oldest of the foreign groups and have formed fewer outside unions than most of the other older nationalities. As for the particular nationalities with whom alliances are made, the older ones intermarry to the greatest extent with one another, some racial or linguistic attraction being usually evident here; and the newer nationalities begin by forming unions with the older in which the women predominate.

The Jews are an exception to the general rule in that religion is a more powerful factor than race in preventing marriages outside the group. Marriages between Jews and gentiles have become frequent enough so that they are not a shock to the Hebrew religious sense, though they are a sufficient novelty to cause considerable gossip. A Jewish woman seldomly marries a gentile: but occasionally Jewish young men marry gentile women; and in such cases, unless the man has practically abandoned the Jewish faith, the women are considered converts to Judaism.

A color line also is a more than ordinary barrier to intermarriage. Marriages between Negroes and whites are not infrequent, but when they occur it is the Negro man who marries the white woman; very few Negresses are married to white men. It is usually the more progressive Negroes who obtain white wives. When a professional man or a good wage-earner marries a white woman, the marriage may be happy enough in itself; but an undesirable social isolation results, for social intercourse with the whites is very limited, and the educated set of Negroes is small, even if a white woman could feel at home in it.

Marriage not infrequently occurs also between Chinamen and white women, notwithstanding the great social difference between them. Between 1885 and 1892 forty marriages were performed, mostly by justices of the peace, between Chinese or Japanese men and white women.<sup>1</sup> Nearly all the women were Americans; 14 were born in Boston, 21 in the United States outside of Boston, 4 in British America, and 1 in Ireland. Most of them were domestic servants or seamstresses of the type that frequent Chinese or Turkish restaurants. An

<sup>1</sup>See report of city registry department for 1893.

occasional report of the escape of one of these white wives seems to indicate that they find permanent life in Chinatown irksome. Such marriages are less common than they were, and they cannot be regarded as any indication of Chinese assimilation.

The social assimilation of the various nationalities through intermarriage does not follow very closely the political assimilation. The causes of the two phenomena are not the same; desire for assimilation may not be the immediate motive for either, but both intermarriage and naturalization of foreigners favor assimilation, and are partial measures of it. The Dutch, Germans, Irish, and Swiss show a considerable tendency to both social and political assimilation. The Italians and Portuguese assimilate slowly in either way. The Jews show considerable tendency towards political assimilation and a small tendency towards social assimilation, while the French assimilate socially with readiness but show little political activity. The English-speaking nationalities assimilate socially with greater readiness than they do politically.

Though a foreign language does not appear to be a great deterrent from intermarriage with another nationality, it is of course a considerable obstacle to the adoption of American life. Though some nationalities learn English much more readily than others, all are for a time kept from reading American newspapers and from entering in other ways into the national thought. Immigrants speaking a foreign tongue are also much more likely to form societies themselves, and these help to preserve the national identity.

One of the strongest forces against complete assimilation is the persistence of the national religion, and difference of language helps to keep up this foreign insti-

tution. Since religious organization offers the greatest resistance to change, the assimilative process has to take place first and the religious institution is modified afterwards. The British Americans and the English are the only nationalities which require no definite national religious organization. Forty-two Roman Catholic churches in the city are Irish organizations, though the audiences are not exclusively Irish, and there is no desire to keep them so. A Scotch Presbyterian church in the city is national to about the same degree as the Irish churches. The Germans have 5 Protestant churches and 1 Catholic church. The Italians have 2 Catholic churches and 1 Protestant mission. The Swedes have 6 Protestant churches and 4 missions. The Norwegians have 2 Protestant churches and 1 mission. The French have 1 Protestant and 1 Catholic church. The Portugese have 1 Catholic church. The Poles have 1 Catholic church. The Danes have 1 church. The Armenians have a chapel for general meetings. The Welsh have occasional services of their own.

Beside these separate Christian churches, the Jews have 21 regular synagogues besides numerous small places of meeting.<sup>1</sup> These differ, however, from the churches above mentioned in being the result of a different religion and not simply the result of differences of race and language; this difference in religion, moreover, is the bulwark of the Jewish separateness. The influence of American environment upon the Jewish religion is shown by the growth of the reformed element, which differs from the orthodox in its interpretation of the Talmud and the importance which it attaches to the interpretation of its laws. Two of the synagogues are

<sup>1</sup> See Boston directory, 1901, p. 3151; and Directory of charities, p. 222, in regard to the churches of the different nationalities.

reformed and are composed largely of the older German element. The more recent Russian immigrants are the most orthodox, yet even among them there is a noticeably growing laxity in the observance of some of the more minute regulations. Unfortunately this change is not a passing from the letter to the spirit of the law, as it has been with the reformed Jews, but is a relaxation of the old religious belief without a substitution of a more modern expression of the truth. Although the conservative tendencies of national religious organizations will sooner or later be overcome if perfect freedom is allowed them, they help greatly at first to preserve national distinctions.

## CHAPTER X

### CONCLUSION

In making a summary of the characteristics of the various ethnic groups, it is impossible to draw any exact comparisons between those groups. All that can be done is to point out certain desirable and undesirable qualities which immigration has introduced into our social system. These characteristics are given with no idea of making odious racial comparisons, but rather with the idea of showing their importance, not simply to the individuals concerned, but to the whole social body.

Two standards of judgment, or two kinds of qualities, should be kept in mind in considering ethnic values: first, the individual characteristics of the groups, or the value of the nationalities in themselves; secondly, the social values of the group, or their influence on the life of the city. It would be well if these two kinds of characteristics were identical, but this is not always the case. Characteristics of the first kind depend upon the stage of social development which a people has reached; those of the second depend partly upon the similarity of the customs and institutions of the two peoples compared and partly upon the sympathy which the immigrants have for the customs and institutions of the new country which they enter, as both these conditions affect the ease with which the new comers enter into the new social system. I shall present my summary with these two distinctions in view, instead of following the exact order of topics as I have presented them hitherto.

The Irish in their native country have been subject to social conditions exceedingly demoralizing,—perhaps the most demoralizing from which any of our immi-

grants have come,—and their record in this country shows very clearly the effect of these conditions. Permitted upon their arrival in the United States to settle in the crowded slums of the city instead of in country districts such as they had been accustomed to, the natural weaknesses of the Irish were increased rather than diminished, and the benefits which ought to have resulted from a changed environment were very slow in appearing. At the present time, therefore, they show perhaps the largest proportion of socially inferior individuals of any foreign nationality. Under the conditions in which they are living here they do not show great physical vitality. Although frequent instances of superior muscular development or of advanced age in individuals indicate the probable development of a higher physical type in the future, the present high death rate both for the first and second generations shows that the Irish have not that toughness, that power to resist disease, shown by some of the other nationalities. This same physical instability is shown by the exceptionally large number of defectives among them.

Closely allied to physical weakness is the social and moral degeneracy exhibited in a large degree among the Irish in their proportion of defectives and delinquents. While serious crime, to be sure, is not very prevalent among them, minor misdemeanors, especially such as are connected with drunkenness and pauperism, are exceptionally common. Degeneracy among the Irish, therefore, seems to result from a low stage of social development rather than from the possession of anti-social characteristics. In their occupations, also, the Irish show a low grade of development. They gravitate towards unskilled work or the rougher kinds of skilled labor and into such personal and governmental



service as requires little previous training. The Irish have only moderate educational attainments, though present immigrants are much more literate than were former ones. They are bright and quick-witted in their mental processes, but show small powers of attainment through continued application. Their complete conformity in religious matters indicates little creative power or independence of thought. Though it is true that in political life they have developed leaders, even here their real power lies in their solidarity, in the docility of the rank and file, and in the strength of their social instincts, rather than in the strong individualities of the leaders. In these social tendencies lies the strength of the Irish. The Irishman is most effective when he has a circle of strong supporters to applaud his efforts. It is the Irish boys that form street gangs, and the Irish men that respond to the social influences of the saloon. Similar traits are noticeable in the Italians, but in most northern European nationalities, like the Scandinavians and the Germans, they are much less prominent. And in this respect the Irish differ most of all from the English, whose personalities protrude so perceptibly as to repel rather than invite friendly support.

These social characteristics of the Irish make it evident in advance that their assimilative qualities must be superior to their individual qualities. They enter readily into the social system, and make their individual characteristics, whether good or bad, widely felt. Their interest in politics not only perfects the political assimilation of their own people but it extends to more recent immigrants and helps to arouse in them interest in civil affairs. The intermarriage of the Irish with a large number of nationalities also assists in their social

assimilation, because they conform so readily to new customs. Their assimilation has contributed many valuable traits to the American people; the happiness of the Irish disposition has added to the native optimism, their love of pleasure acts as a valuable antidote to Jewish seriousness and business concentration. Then the contribution which the Irish have made to games and sports of all kinds should not be lightly esteemed, although they have not always raised them to a very high plane—base ball, pugilism, and politics being perhaps their favorite sports. As the Irish are the largest and one of the oldest of the foreign groups in Boston, they act as a sort of intermediary between the native population and the later foreign elements. Consequently it is fortunate that they possess the characteristics which make them easily assimilable, though on the other hand our whole social system suffers from their weak personal characteristics.

The various English-speaking immigrants have in the main similar characteristics, but in certain ways they differ from each other and from the native Americans. That two very different classes come from both England and Scotland is evident from the immigration reports and from the records of the two nationalities in the city. The better class of immigrants are fairly well to do, and they make a valuable addition to the industrial world. The less desirable class is indicated by the large number of debarred among the immigrants, and also by the large degenerate class among the English and Scotch of the city. This degenerate class is sufficient to give an excessive proportion both of dependents and of delinquents in the total number. Therefore, while the English and Scotch furnish us with a highly

specialized class of labor, they also give us a class which becomes a heavy burden to the social body.

The British Americans are a less positive element than the English and Scotch. They bring a smaller proportion of undesirable immigrants than do the British, but they fall below the standard of the better class of immigrants from Great Britain. The skill of the British American workmen is below that of the English, and the temporary character of much of their immigration has an unwholesome effect upon laborers who are permanently settled in Boston. In the matter of crime and pauperism the British Americans have a record very similar to that of the native Americans and below that of the English and the Scotch. In the less extreme forms, both of poverty and crime, the British Americans lead the Americans, while in the more extreme forms the Americans are slightly ahead. The British Americans, however, have a very small class of defectives.

As to the incorporation of the English-speaking immigrants into our social system, progress is not so rapid as might be expected, though isolated groups are never formed as they are by the non-English speaking nationalities. The interest which the British and the British Americans take in our political life is small, even when compared with the interest shown by those immigrants who have to learn the English language. They intermarry readily, however, with other groups, at least with the English-speaking groups. The English are perhaps the least readily assimilated of any of the English-speaking nationalities. The English mix but do not assimilate; while associating readily with the native population, they hold tenaciously to their national characteristics. This is noticeable of the English in whatever

country they may visit. It is probably less conspicuous in the United States than in most countries, for the Americans themselves are a bit independent.

The Germans are without doubt the best type of immigrants which has settled in Boston. They form a more homogeneous body of immigrants than do the English. Nearly all have some means when they arrive with which to make a start, and what is more to the point, they have a determined purpose to make homes for themselves. The United States is too far from Germany to attract many who have no special object in life. With the exception of the insane, the degenerate classes among the Germans are very small, and fortunately for the city as a whole the Germans do not form slums in which degenerates are bred. Though German labor is of a high grade, it is not equal to that of the English, and competes less seriously with American labor.

When the Germans first enter upon life in a new country they usually have a strong prejudice against losing their national identity, and consequently they often form isolated groups for the purpose of continuing their existence as a German colony. Notwithstanding their resolves, however, the assimilation of the Germans is as rapid as that of the non-English speaking nationalities. The second generation, if not the first, is thoroughly American. In a large city like Boston, however, isolation is not so great with the Germans as it is with certain of the other nationalities, and the assimilation of the first generation makes rapid progress. The Germans rank among the first in the number of their naturalized voters, and their freedom of association is shown by the number of marriages with other nationalities. Though the Germans keep up their own societies,

newspapers, and churches, the fact that their homes and all their interests are transferred to this country ensures their final assimilation. It is the temporary immigrant that remains a foreigner.

The Scandinavians also are excellent immigrants, though in some respects they are not equal to the Germans. Minor misdemeanors are of common occurrence among them, though serious crimes as well as extreme poverty are comparatively rare. Most of the Scandinavians are such skilled workmen and so industrious that they never lack employment. In nearly all these personal characteristics the Swedes are superior to the Norwegians. Although the Scandinavians have been here too short a time to become assimilated to the same extent as have the older nationalities, they have little tendency to form colonies, and consequently their assimilation will be so much the more rapid. They have not as yet intermarried very extensively with other peoples, but they have formed a few alliances with a considerable number of nationalities, showing a tendency to wide association. And, considering their length of residence, they make a creditable showing in their number of voters.

The position of the Jews differs somewhat from that of the other nationalities, owing to their peculiar history. So far as their physical and moral characteristics are concerned, they are superior to almost every other nationality. Their death rate is remarkably low, and at the same time their birth rate is very high. They have also the smallest number of defectives of any one nationality. Many of the Jews are very poor, but they do not come to absolute pauperism, and their criminal record is exceptionally small. In addition to their strong physical characteristics, most of the Jews have keen in-

telleets. Those who lack a broad intellectual vision show intellectual superiority in craftiness and cunning. These mental characteristics have been exaggerated by the character of their occupations, which were at first doubtless determined largely by necessity, though now they are naturally preferred. Few Jews are in the liberal professions and few enter the harder kinds of manual labor, though the poor Jews are glad to do unskilled work if they can obtain it. Most of the Jews enter some sort of trade or engage in the manufacture of clothing.

In their family relations the Jews show admirable traits. While among other nationalities the family shows signs of instability, with the Jews it retains its old position, though the inferior position of Jewish women detracts somewhat from its excellence. One other characteristic which has been attended with important results is the Jewish feeling of superiority over other peoples. A certain contempt for the outside gentile world has been at the bottom of much of that exasperating conduct that has provoked retaliation and persecution from gentile neighbors. The fact that reaction against the Jews extends beyond the immediate cause oftentimes enables the Jews to pose as the abused parties, when, in reality, their own acts brought on the persecution.

The feeling of racial superiority among the Jews is intimately connected with the general question of their separateness. In the matter of political assimilation the record of the Jews is good, and, if allowance is made for illiteracy, they are to be found among the leading nationalities. So the Jews may be said to take a creditable interest in national life notwithstanding the fact that it is often from selfish business motives. The

actual assimilation of the Jews by intermarriage, however, is comparatively small owing to religious differences. With primitive people tribal exclusiveness and many self-centered activities are often essential for self-preservation, and when this danger of extermination is passed, individual isolation is no longer necessary. With the Jews, however, separateness is given a religious sanction, and consequently has persisted with the persistence of the Jewish religion. The result is that we have the curious spectacle of a people who feel the need of remaining separate from others even while scattered throughout the world. With the Jews this feeling is more than the natural dislike to marry a person of a different religion—it is the desire for race purity. The religion of the Jews separates them not merely in the form of their worship but also in many minor ways, such as food and the observance of a separate Sabbath and of separate holidays.

In matters of a non-religious character the Jews are fairly imitative. It is only their religion and things resulting directly therefrom that isolate them. In fact it may be said that the great objection both to the personal and social characteristics of the Jews is that they are not Christians, and by this I mean that they do not recognize the principle of the brotherhood of man. There may be some grounds for the Jewish belief in their superiority, but in so far as they make it an excuse for distinctions in their obligations they show moral inferiority. Others besides Jews, to be sure, fail to grasp the idea of universal brotherhood, but the cause with them is rather a narrow intellectual view than a matter of principle. The Jews have many excellent traits, but so long as they retain their personal attitude

towards the external world they cannot become a very valuable element in any society. The change in attitude must come from them, for no nation can assimilate an element which consciously holds itself aloof.

Although the Italians have been here too short a time for the complete results of their stay to appear from statistics, certain tendencies are manifest. The Italians are less self-reliant than many nationalities. They learn English slowly and are in general very ignorant. Some have no permanent interests here, and all are trying to save as much money as possible. For these reasons the Italians herd together persistently, and as they are increasing rapidly they are forming objectionable permanent slums. They are now living in the most crowded and unsanitary condition of all the nationalities in Boston. These conditions are aggravated by an excess of unskilled laborers—single men who are idle a large part of the time. The result thus far has been a high rate of infant mortality, an excess of serious crime among the men, and an increase in drunkenness and sexual depravity. In other words, the Italians show the beginnings of a degenerate class, such as has developed fully among the Irish. As they come to us they are not bad material; they are poor and ignorant, but thus far they have developed few paupers or defectives, and few of them belong to the class of petty criminals. They are a simple peasant class who respond readily to their environment; if allowed to continue in unwholesome conditions we may be sure that the next generation will bring forth a large crop of dependents, delinquents, and defectives to fill up our public institutions.

The Italians have thus far made little progress towards assimilation. Ignorance keeps a large number from ex-



exercising the franchise; however, even the better educated take little interest in political life. A few Italian men have married women from neighboring nationalities, but thorough assimilation has been confined to a few whose interests have taken them outside the colony.

The Portuguese are a small element in the population of Boston, and they are not increasing. They have a low standard of morality, although their criminal record is small. They are poor,—many of them very poor,—but they are not paupers. As a class they are ignorant, and most of the workers are unskilled. They have assimilated hardly more than the Italians, either politically or socially. Their tendency to live by themselves, however, makes their influence comparatively unimportant.

Our relation towards the Negroes is somewhat different from that towards the foreign nationalities, as most of them already form a part of the social system, though a few come to us from the West Indian islands. The slave conditions from which the Negroes have so recently come perhaps make a comparison between them and foreign nationalities unfair. A comparison of the Negroes with any foreign group would be to the disadvantage of the Negroes. They have a much larger number of degenerates than any foreign nationality; crime is exceptionally common with them, and it has a hard tinge of viciousness about it, indicating a low moral sense. Even the moral equilibrium of the middle class church-goers is unstable. They relax easily into vulgarity, if not into immorality. In addition to their criminal record the Negroes have a large class of defectives and are very poor, although absolute pauperism is not so great among them as might be expected. Their rate of mortality is

also exceptionally high. Poverty among the Negroes might be explained partially by their necessary racial isolation, but not so their other forms of degeneracy. The Chinese have not these forms of degeneracy, and the isolation of the Jews has tended to increase rather than to weaken their moral stamina. This is because the Jews have a strong racial pride almost entirely lacking with the Negroes. The admirable qualities of the Negroes are to be found in a comparatively small class who, while contending against great odds, are making laudable progress.

No great progress has been made toward the assimilation of the Negroes through race intermixture, and probably such a thing is not at present desirable. Greater political activity, however, might be of advantage to the Negroes themselves. The Negroes are now passing through a period of natural selection. They will need to develop greater solidarity and self-consciousness before taking a prominent place in the social system.

In the discussion of these traits of the various racial groups a word may be said concerning the second generation. The character of our population will of course be influenced greatly by future immigration; as the population now stands the Irish, the Jews, the British Americans, and the Italians are contributing by far the largest part of its growth, although the Jews, Italians, and Swedes are increasing at the most rapid rate. Little can be said concerning the characteristics of the second generation, though in certain ways the second generation of those nationalities which tend to congregate in the slums shows a deterioration over the first. With the Irish the second generation shows an increase of crime, and this holds good even among the women, with

whom unchastity is more prevalent than in the first generation. With the Italians and the Jews the death rate of the second generation is much greater than that of the first, though other forms of degeneracy are not yet noticeable. With other nationalities who are increasing less rapidly and who live in more healthful surroundings the second generation appears to have made an improvement over the first.



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